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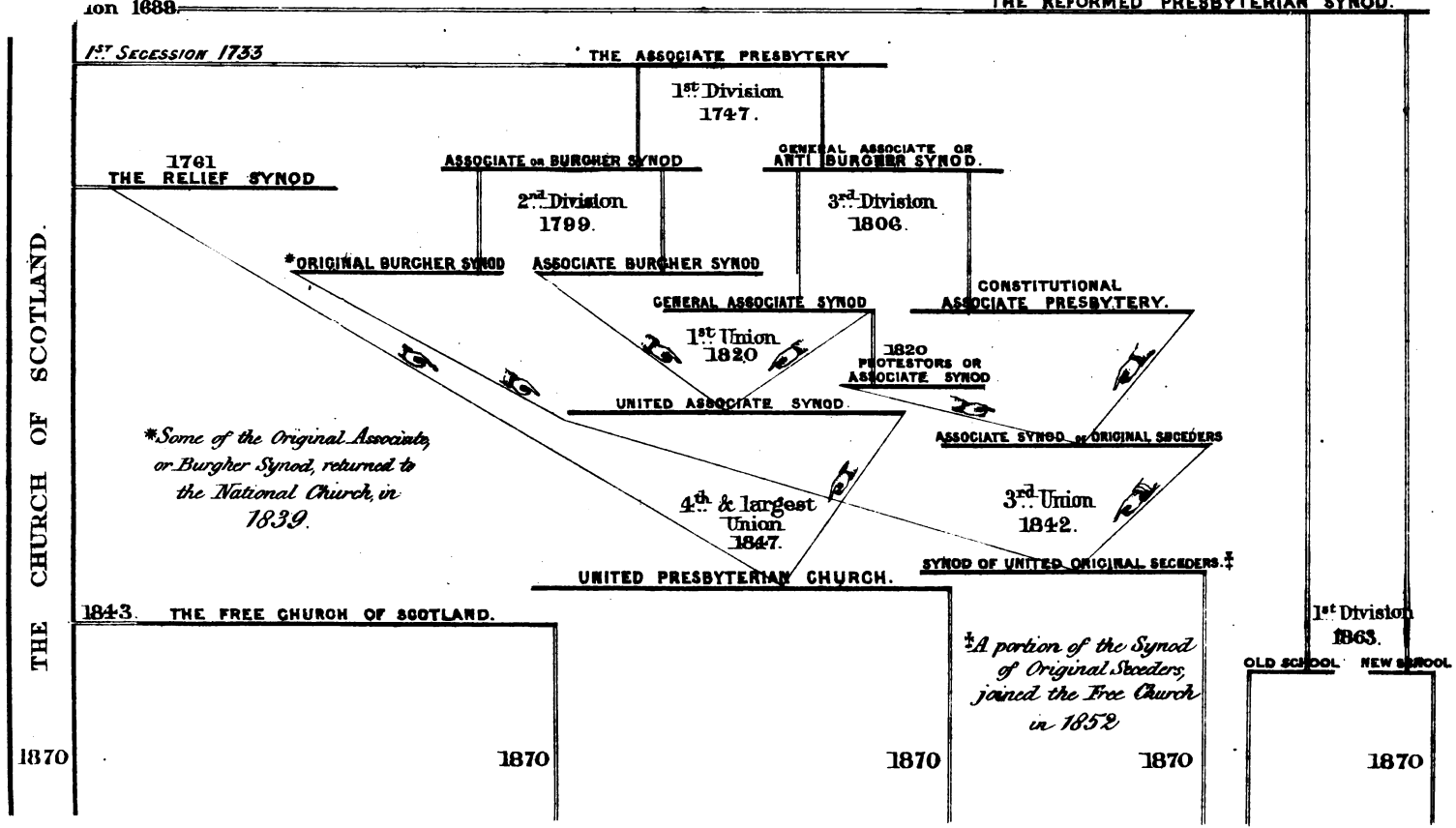
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Diagram of the Secessions.



THE

FUTURE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:

An Essay

IN FAVOUR OF A

NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

ON THE BASIS OF

TOLERATION, ECONOMY, AND UTILITY:

Addressed to the Lay Presbyterians of Scotland.

WITH

SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASING ITS EFFICIENCY IN THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND SOCIAL ELEVATION OF THE PEOPLE.

BY

"FREE LANCE,"
SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY DIALECTIC SOCIETY.



"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."—VIRGIL.

"Go, little book, from forth my solitude;
I cast thee on the waters,—go thy ways;
And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,
The world shall find thee after many days."—SOUTHEY.

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PREFACE.

In addressing this Essay to the Presbyterians of Scotland, I beg it to be clearly understood that I am in league with no party in any of the Presbyterian Churches. Although having the means of learning the views of some clerical leaders, I have held little direct communication with them. I do not expect my proposals to receive the immediate or cordial sanction of any ecclesiastical clique, and therefore make my appeal to the Christian and enlightened laity, with whom the decision of the question at issue must ultimately abide. My arguments apply to Scotland as a distinct nation, possessing a National Church, which has been bequeathed by Presbyterian forefathers, and is endeared to their Presbyterian descendants. The present times are critical. Events are moving rapidly. The demarcations of parties in Church and State are rapidly disappearing: old watchwords have lost their charm: ancient symbols are devoid of meaning; and it therefore behoves every man of intelligence to inquire, judge, and decide for himself what line of action ought to be pursued in future.

With no pretensions to superiority over others in knowledge or in purity of motive, I can honestly lay claim to a competent acquaintance with the events of the last thirty-five years, during which Church and State have undergone an entire but silent revolution. Unless much mistaken, I flatter myself that circumstances have enabled me in a great measure to discard the prejudices which stand in the way of an impartial treatment of the subject under review. Having had the

good fortune to enjoy the friendship of representatives, both lay and clerical, of all the Presbyterian Churches, who, unluckily, have rarely mingled with one another, I have had ample opportunities of ascertaining their distinctive opinions, tendencies, and antipathies. Besides associating with them in private life and in mixed society, I have met them in foreign countries, where sectarian trammels are shaken off, and where the horizon of Presbyterian fellowship is greatly extended. I shall not be surprised, far less alarmed, to find my views, plans, and counsels scouted as unsound, visionary, impracticable, pernicious; and I am aware that they will be repudiated by many whose exclusiveness and rancour unfit them for coming to a sound conclusion. The censure of such judges I shall lightly esteem; their facts and arguments shall be candidly pondered. Of this I am certain, that my suggestions will arrest the attention of hundreds, whose freedom from bias and clerical dictation amply qualifies them for grappling with a subject of this nature.

If any one expects to find in the following pages unqualified praise or censure of any Scottish Christian denomination, he will be grievously disappointed, and he will best consult his own peace of mind by at once shutting the book. I regret that a regard for historical accuracy has compelled me to treat certain leaders of the Christian people with some severity. They cannot, however, complain that I have dealt by them as they have dealt by others. It has been represented to me that I must forfeit the friendship of some estimable persons. Such representations have not influenced me in the smallest degree. My book is written in the interests of truth and justice. A service of honour is often a service of jeopardy, which in times gone by was punished with social ostracism.

I have to explain that this Essay was originally intended to be issued, before the close of 1869, in the shape of a pamphlet

of considerable dimensions. As I proceeded, it became obvious that certain collateral questions were involved in the subject of Presbyterian reunion. There is reason to fear, too, that a large proportion of the members, and some at least, of the ministers, of the Presbyterian Churches are imperfectly acquainted with the Scottish ecclesiastical transactions of the last hundred and fifty years. For their benefit, a succinct but, it is hoped, lucid history of the various schisms in all the Scottish denominations has been traced; and it will be remarked that I have based my representations on documents published by ministers or members of the several denominations. The narrative may seem to be interrupted by digressions needlessly frequent and redundant. Many of the notes, however, have cost more labour than the text, and will be found to possess some interest in a literary, biographical, and historical point of view. Great pains have been taken to secure accuracy. Writing, as I have done, at the distance of two hundred miles from my own library, I have been compelled to rely in many instances on my memory alone, and some minor errors may have been committed; but I should be guilty of gross neglect if I did not acknowledge my obligations to ministers and members of all the Presbyterian Churches for kind and prompt assistance.* The only exceptions have been two clerical leaders of the Free Church noted for their general punctuality and business habits. When Professor Lorimer, of London, wished to obtain information respecting the residence of Patrick Hamilton at the University of Louvain, he was told on good Belgian authority that "les bons Jesuites sont avares des documens, dont nous pouvons faire usage."

I ought to mention that the ingenious diagram of the Se-

* The venerable Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who died March 20th, 1870, in his eighty-second year, was one of them.

cession is not mine. It is the work of the Rev. John Ritchie, minister of the United Original Secession Church, Shotsburn, who has courteously given his permission to reprint it. The picture of schisms which it presents to the eye must convey a solemn lesson to those who strain at gnats and swallow camels. It will be proved to the satisfaction of all candid readers that every Presbyterian Church in Scotland * has consented to compromises involving a greater sacrifice of conviction on doctrinal points than that which is recommended in the following pages. Parliament will ere long be solicited to relax the Law of Patronage. To those who think that the people of Scotland have no right to make this demand it may be sufficient to answer, with Lord Macaulay:—"Scotland has had a Presbyterian Establishment during a century and a-half. Yet her General Assembly has not, during that period, given half so much trouble to the Government as the Convocation of the Church of England gave to it during the thirty years which followed the Revolution." These words were penned in 1828, and the Church of Scotland is now seeking to obtain, in a constitutional manner, what was attempted to be extorted by menace after the passing of the Veto Act and the Claim of Spiritual Independence. It will be seen that the present Union movement is not recommended, and that a truly National reconstruction of Scottish Presbyterianism is enforced on the basis of mutual forbearance, of national utility, and of sound political economy. Unless these conditions are guaranteed, a National Church perpetuates all the evils of Dissent without its advantages.

As regards the likelihood of such a desirable consummation being achieved, it would be rash to speculate. Yet recent

* Perhaps I ought to except Mr Ritchie's own denomination, which contains only twenty-seven small congregations.

alliances must have considerably enlarged the national estimate of the probability of an alliance on a larger scale. The staunchest defenders of Church Establishments are now leagued with the fiercest champions of Voluntaryism. A generation is fast growing up which took no part in the Voluntary controversy, or in the Free Church Disruption, and which will doubtless consider whether it is bound to serve itself heir to either of those memorable contests. It will also reflect whether the largest amount of Christian freedom can be expected to be willingly granted by clerical leaders whose whole lives have been spent in conflict—first, with the Dissenters, whom they strove to crush; next, with their brethren in the Establishment, and the judges of the supreme legal tribunals of the land, whom they assailed with uncourteous epithets; and, latterly, with the ministers of their own communion, whom they are now trying to coerce by majorities in Church Courts. Since the composition of this Essay was begun, in August 1869, the case of the Rev. George Gilfillan has proved that a large number of United Presbyterian ministers are prepared to sanction a latitude in the treatment of the Confession of Faith previously undetermined, and probably unsuspected. The laymen of that body are invited to consider whether, without any recantation of vital principles, they cannot unite with the laymen of the other Presbyterian Churches in securing a truly National Church which shall widen the basis without endangering the structure of the Church of Scotland, so that she may obtain a fresh lease of life and usefulness for the common benefit of the Scottish people. It is somewhat remarkable that of all the present ministers of that Church, nearly thirteen hundred in number, not one took an active part in the Voluntary Controversy.

Considerable prominence has been given to the subject of

Education,— primary, secondary, and academical,— because, amid the blasting influence of ecclesiastical dissensions, Scotland has been gradually shorn of her reputation as an educated country, and because I may be presumed capable of forming sound conclusions on a subject which has been the business of my life. My long practical experience as an educator in primary schools and grammar schools, and as a lecturer in institutions of a higher grade, both Scottish and English, has brought me into contact with educational theorists of every creed. Mr Forster, the sanguine and energetic Vice-President of the Privy Council Board of Education, has, to his regret, discovered that he has not been able to "canter over" the religious difficulty so easily as he anticipated; and little help will be afforded by his sardonic colleague, Mr Lowe, a former Vice-President, who thinks that religious education bears the same relation to general education as nettles to pasture. Scotsmen ought to feel thankful for the general harmony touching the religious difficulty which has been realised in Scotland, and which is as yet unattainable in England.

I hope that all true Protestants will sympathise with my vindication of the fundamental principles of the Reformation, which are sought to be sapped and slandered by foes in various camps. Nothing is more fitted to cause surprise than the credulity which many men display in echoing the watchwords of bigotry and sectarianism, knowing all the while that they are forfeiting or delaying a national blessing. Our country stands greatly in need of a few wise and patriotic leaders to crush this petty and intolerant spirit. The multitude will follow by degrees, thus verifying the lines of Schiller,—

"Man, he is aye an imitative animal,
And he who is the foremost leads the flock."

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
March 22nd, 1870.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, line 25, *for* London Missionary, *read* British and Foreign.
" 3, " 33, *for* White, *read* Whittle.
" 6, " 21, *for* it, *read* them.
" 8, " 17, *for* retreat, *read* retract.
" 10, transpose the first two Notes.
" 14, line 24, *for* mother, *read* grandmother.
" 112, " 28, *for* paternal, *read* pastoral.
" 134, " 13, *for* head, *read* heads.
" 144, " 12, *for* four, *read* six.
" 146, " 28, *for* Principal, *read* Professor.
" 146, " 37, *for* Nicoll's, *read* Nicoll.
" 169, " 21, *for* some years, *read* one year.
" 178, " 20, *for* John, *read* J. S.
" 178, " 44, *for* Rannie, *read* Rennie.
" 184, *for* twenty-four, *read* twenty.
" 198, " 26, *for* Johnstone, *read* Johnston.
" 224, last line, *for* Rectors, *read* Rector's.

The Rev. J. E. Rae, of Port-Dundas Church, Glasgow, and lately of Belford, Northumberland, has informed me that there is an inaccuracy in the statement at p. 176, regarding the late Dr Robert Lee. Neither of his brothers is an Episcopalian minister. One of them resides at Tweedmouth, the other in St Petersburgh. Dr Lee's father was precentor at Tweedmouth for forty years, and, when young, Dr Lee himself often occupied the lecturn.

THE FUTURE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Retrospect of Political Events after the Reform Bill of 1832—The Voluntary Controversy—Church Extension Agitation—Veto Act and Chapel Act of 1832—Claim of Spiritual Independence in 1838—Progress of the Non-Intrusion Controversy—Grounds of the Secession or Disruption of 1843—Meeting of the first Free Church Assembly—Atonement Controversy in the United Secession Church in 1845—Origin of the Secession Church—Burghers and Anti-Burghers—Origin of the Relief Church—Union of the Presbyterian Churches—Reformed Presbyterian Church—Character of the Seceders—Visits of Whitefield and Wesley to Scotland—Origin of English Methodism—Presbyterianism in England—Episcopacy in Scotland—Scottish Roman Catholics—Origin of Congregationalism in Scotland—Deposition by the Established General Assembly of the Rev. J. Macleod Campbell of Row—Origin of the Evangelical Union Church—Cause of Secessions from the Church of Scotland.

A VERY able and eminent London Congregational minister, who has lately retired from active pastoral duty, declared, some years ago, that he had spent the second half of his life in unlearning the errors of the first. During the fury of the Voluntary controversy, he is reported to have uttered the memorable saying, that the Anglican Church had ruined more souls than she had saved. As became a candid and reflective man, he afterwards retracted such strong language. Although still, in the main, a resolute Nonconformist, he has honestly confessed his obligations to the Established Church of England, so that his partial introduction of its ritual into his own spacious and crowded chapel even exposed him to mean insinuations. At the present time, it would be impossible to name a man who is more highly honoured on the south of the Tweed, alike by tolerant Churchmen and by Dissenters, than the Rev. Thomas Binney, the bold, high-souled, and faithful Pastor of the Weigh-House Chapel. For a long period, Mr Binney and the late Rev. Mr Burnet of Camberwell* were regarded as the champions

* Mr Burnet, who will be long remembered as an eloquent orator in Exeter Hall, was often mistaken for an Irishman, but he was a native of Perth. After spending

of Dissenting opinion in the Metropolis. Mr Binney's power as a preacher was equally recognised, although he was long obnoxious to Churchmen of all grades. Time, however, works wonders. Mr Binney's sympathies naturally allied him to the Low Church, or Evangelical party in the Establishment; yet, in his farewell sermon on July 10th, 1869, he was not ashamed to own that he saw some things to admire both in the High Church, and in the Broad Church School.*

This allusion to a pillar of English Congregationalism has been prompted by the situation of Church parties in Scotland during nearly forty years, a period co-extensive with Mr Binney's ministry in London. It has been a period of intense activity in thought and action. Speculation in theology, philosophy, and politics has been rife, and has been fraught with important results. Doctrines consecrated by Revelation, conscience, and antiquity, have been overtly impugned. August and venerable institutions have been arraigned and put on their

some years in the army as a private soldier, he became a minister in Cork, and removed to London, where he died: his successor was Mr Pillans of Perth. As a preacher, Mr Burnet held a subordinate place. Mr James Grant, in his "Metropolitan Pulpit," asserts that Mr Burnet read his sermons closely. The fact is, he never read a sermon in his life, and wrote only one. His sermons, many of which I heard, were logical, didactic, and practical, but quite wanting in those high flights of oratory which crowded Exeter Hall.

* See "Christian World," July, 1869. I may prevent misunderstanding by explaining that in England the High Church party is generally Arminian in its creed, while the Low or Evangelical party professes Calvinism, and tends more than the former to fraternise with other Churches. For a full, lucid, and impartial view of these two parties, and of the Broad Church, with the subdivisions of each, see Conybeare's "Church Parties" in the October number of the "Edinburgh Review" of 1853, and reprinted in his "Ecclesiastical Essays." As I shall quote frequently from this writer, I may state that he was the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the Queen's Chaplains, and latterly Principal of Liverpool College, where he died several years ago. In conjunction with the Rev. J. S. Howson, his colleague, he published the elaborate work on the "Life and Epistles of St Paul." Dr Howson, so well known by his articles in the "Sunday Magazine," is now Dean of Chester. Mr Conybeare accounted the untimely deaths of Dr Arnold and Archdeacon Hare as the signs of coming judgments. Not long after he had penned the words, he also sank into an early grave. In Scotland, the Moderates were termed Low Church, and the Non-Intrusionists High Church. The Moderates were accused of preaching Arminianism. This may have been true in some cases, but most of them taught substantially the same doctrines as the Non-Intrusionists. For a year or two there was a middle party in the Church, headed by Dr William Muir, of St Stephen's.

defence. Acts of Parliament have been erased from the Statute-Book, and ancient rights, hitherto deemed inalienable, have been cancelled by a stroke of the pen. The work of demolition is followed by that of reconstruction. In some cases one pulls down, and another sets up. In others, the same mind and hand perform both acts, and the idol is demolished by its own priest. Who, save a reckless gamester or a crazy visionary, would have predicted in 1865, that, before the end of 1868, a Household Suffrage Bill, the fond imagination of Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, would have been proposed and carried by a Tory Government, or that the Irish Church, which was reckoned safe for a generation, would be disestablished and disendowed in one Session of Parliament?

I ask my readers to accompany me in my review of Churches and Creeds, while I trace the course of events in Scotland during the last hundred and forty years, and deduce what seem to be useful lessons. At the risk of being charged with egotism, I shall draw largely on my own recollections. Where these are wanting, I shall, with regard to later times, appeal to the testimony of many men now living, or to books and periodicals generally accessible.

My earliest recollection of public discussion reverts to the once famous Apocrypha controversy, when the late Dr Thomson, of St George's Church, Edinburgh, went over the country, denouncing the Committee of the London Missionary Society for circulating the Apocrypha along with the Canonical Scriptures. Then came the Reform Bill of 1832, with the enfranchisement of the middle classes, the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, the wild joy of the operatives, the long gay processions of young and old, celebrating the jubilee of Parliamentary Reform, and the inauguration of peace, retrenchment, and reform. The Black Book was thumbed by the toiling millions, and Daniel White Harvey delivered his stinging philippics against the Pension List. Every hostelry and barber's shop had its walls adorned with portraits of Earl Grey, the Premier; of Lord Brougham, the Lord Chancellor; and of Lord John Russell, in the act of introducing the Reform Bill into the House of Commons. Aristocratic Whigs hung up in their dining-rooms Hayter's fine historical picture of the same Reform Bill receiving

the Royal assent, by commission, in the House of Lords. The Tories had dwindled to a mere fraction in the Lower House; the Liberals, once so dominant, were soon split into Whigs, Radicals, and Whig Radicals. How few could now explain the precise difference between them? Then followed the rise of Chartism, with its five* points, drawn up by six members of Parliament and six working men, the former including Mr Roebuck, M.P. The division here was twofold, there being Moral Force Chartists, led by the Rev. Patrick Brewster, and Physical Force Chartists, by Mr Fergus O'Connor. In the background scowled the Socialists, denying the existence of a Deity, the rights of property, the sacredness of marriage, the theory of moral responsibility, but believing strongly in the "force of circumstances," whatever may be implied in that conveniently vague phrase. Robert Owen was the apostle and victim of that system. I can remember his lecture in Freemasons' Hall, Niddry Street, Edinburgh. A more consistent, and self-complacent egotist I never heard. He was to portion out lands fairly. Working men were to toil only a few hours a-day, leaving the remainder for amusement, especially theatrical entertainments! Marriages were to be contracted for short terms, and to be terminable by three months' intimation on either side! As socialism involved a disturbance of the marriage laws, Owen was succeeded by various female lecturers, one of whom afterwards took to phrenology, and sketched characters. Another appeared on Sundays in Richmond Court Chapel, and asked for the proof of human depravity. Hugh Miller, fresh from Cromarty, deemed her worthy of a visit, and of a leader in the "Witness." His description of the place, and of the young men who supported her on the platform, was very graphic —"Young men with narrow, retreating foreheads;" and the best proof of human depravity he knew was the disgusting spectacle of herself, inculcating principles subversive of religion, order, and decency!

This glance at political events may fitly comprise the rise,

* A friend of mine maintains that there were six points. Perhaps he is right; but I can testify that, when I landed at Hull from Rotterdam in 1842, Yorkshire and Lancashire were in fearful uproar on account of these points. The Chartists were smashing machines, and quiet people were kept in painful alarm, day and night: property and life were in imminent danger.

struggles, and triumph of the Anti-Corn Law League, at first stigmatized by the Protectionists as unconstitutional, if not illegal, and as sure to bring lower wages with cheaper bread, —a prophecy luckily falsified,—and to reduce the price of land,—a prophecy falsified even more signally. During the agitation for the Ten Hours' Bill by Lord Ashley and Richard Oastler, many Liberal millowners prophesied the ruin of the manufacturing interests if the bill should pass. Lord Morpeth, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Mr John Bright joined in this prophecy. But the operatives stuck to their point. They insisted that women and children should not be overworked. The bill passed; the millowners prospered more than ever; consequently Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Mr John Bright were false prophets. It was in this final debate of 1846 that I heard the splendid speech of Mr Macaulay on the blessings of a national Sabbath.* The vote was taken at early sunrise, and when the House broke up, the birds were chirping round old Westminster Abbey.

* During one of Mr Macaulay's brilliant passages, Mr Bright, who sat behind him, called out "Question, question!" The orator, apparently annoyed by the interruption, turned rapidly round, and exclaimed, "Who says I am not speaking to the question?" I heard a similar "Question," from Professor Aytoun, on the Edinburgh hustings, and a similar interrogation by Mr Macaulay, when he was opposed by Mr Peter Blackburn, of Killearn. It was rumoured that Mr Macaulay's speeches were carefully prepared, and efforts were made to put him off his guard, and make him break down, but they always failed. I first saw Mr Bright, in 1842, walking through St James's Park with the witty and accomplished Mr Charles Buller, M.P., who was classed as a Whig-Radical. Who that has heard Mr Bright thundering so powerfully from the cross benches against "incompetent and guilty Administrations," both Whig and Tory, ever expected to see him a Cabinet Minister, and even rebuking headstrong members of the House for harsh and unwarrantable strictures? Perhaps he of all men was the least expectant of his own translation. The electors of Manchester now regret their rejecting him, when he was abroad in ill-health, and Mr Callender, a leader of the Conservatives, lately confessed that they had lost a "handsome Saxon." John Bright reminds one of John Clerk, of Eldin, the famous Scottish advocate—a profound feudalist and successful pleader, equally fond of a joke and an argument, but imbued with a supreme contempt for the judges before whom he argued. At last he was made a Judge, and as he limped up to the bench, an old Writer to the Signet was heard to ejaculate, "Eh! is he gaain' up amang them?" The powerful advocate made a bad judge. Before the case was stated, he took a side, and formed his judgment. Besides, his vigour was gone. If Mr Bright prove himself to be as successful in statesmanship as in oratory, he will be one of the foremost senators of his century. He is one of the few Parliamentary speakers who excels in broad humour and in impressive Scriptural allusions.

Contemporaneous with these secular proceedings, and closely related to some of them, were two eventful movements of an ecclesiastical character. These were the Voluntary Controversy, commenced in 1832, by the late Dr Marshall, of Kirkintilloch, and the Non-Intrusion Controversy, dating from the passing of the Veto Act by the General Assembly in 1834, on the motion of the late Lord Moncreiff. Both of these controversies were partly the offspring of the Reform Bill. The Voluntaries assailed the Civil Establishment of religion; the Non-Intrusionists claimed for heads of families the power to reject unacceptable presentees to Parish Churches. Nobody can deny that in those times the foremost champions of the Established Church, with its admitted defects, were Non-Intrusionists, most of whom are still living, but ministers of the Free Church, though arrayed under hostile banners. Among them were Dr Candlish, Dr Robert Buchanan, Dr Begg, Dr C. J. Brown, Dr Gibson, the Rev. Mr Mr Arnot, the Rev. Mr Nixon, and the Rev. Mr Macnaughton.* In the Voluntary ranks were conspicuous many men also still living, and now ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, including Dr Harper, Dr King, Dr Davidson, Dr Robson, Dr Anderson, Dr W. Marshall, Dr John Taylor, Dr W. Johnston, and the Rev. Mr Renton. The disputants were all in their prime of bodily and intellectual vigour, and the conflict was bravely maintained on both sides. Churches and halls were crowded with enthusiastic partisans; speeches and pamphlets were scattered broadcast over the land. The doom of the State Churches was confidently foretold, some allowing it a short shrift of two years.

Meanwhile, a mine was sprung in the Voluntary camp. Dr Chalmers and the Non-Intrusionists had been actively employed in erecting 200 new chapels, which they importuned Lord Melbourne's government to endow. This demand alarmed the Dissenters; hence the Church Extension Controversy. A Church Commission was appointed to collect evidence, and

* For the last twenty years a minister of the Irish Presbyterian Church, Belfast. He was a highly popular preacher, and a zealous coadjutor of Dr Begg in the Voluntary Controversy, when Dr Begg was a minister in Paisley. Mr Macnaughton was called to Edinburgh by St Paul's congregation before 1843, but the General Assembly refused to translate him. If I remember rightly, Lord Dundrennan, then Mr Thomas Maitland, pleaded for the Paisley High Church congregation, which retained its most reluctant pastor. The relevancy of this note will be seen by-and-by.

to report; but no endowments were granted. The Dissenters maintained that the chapels had been erected in many localities as much to crush dissent as to preach the gospel, and the investigation of the Commission lent some colour of truth to this plea.* The most eager Church Extensionists belonged to the Non-Intrusion section of the Church. Although endowments were refused from the national exchequer, districts, styled "*quoad sacra* parishes," were assigned to the Chapel ministers by the General Assembly in 1834, without application to Parliament or to the Civil Courts. The Chapel ministers very generally attached themselves to the Non-Intrusionists, and voted with them in the Church Courts till January 20th, 1843, when the Court of Session decided that their votes were illegal. The Chapel Act was moved by Professor Robert Brown, of Aberdeen, and was carried by 152 to 103. The late Dr James Macfarlane,† of Duddingston, in his "History of the late Secession of 1843," states that the Act was condemned not only by Dr Cook, the able leader of the Moderates, but by Dr Chalmers, Dr Gordon, Dr Patrick Macfarlane, Dr Clason, Mr Pitcairn, of Cockpen, and Mr Bannerman,‡ of Ormiston, all members of the Non-Intrusion party.

* See Dr Andrew Thomson's "Historical Sketch of the Secession Church," p. 157—a spirited, graceful, and interesting narrative; pervaded, of course, by denominational bias.

† Dr James Macfarlane was the son of a Relief minister in Glasgow. As the reader proceeds, he will be reminded that several ornaments of the Church of Scotland were reared in the Secession. At one time, such men were regarded with aversion by those whose communion they had left, but we live in more tolerant times. Yet, three years ago, I heard an esteemed elder of a large Presbyterian denomination —which I will not name—say that the religion of any man who left the ranks of Dissent for the Establishment was very doubtful, and, I regret to add, that he was quite sincere in his opinions; however, he is a pious, consistent man, never weary in well-doing.

‡ Subsequently the Rev. Dr Bannerman, of the Edinburgh Free Church College. Dr Robert Buchanan, in his "Ten Years' Conflict," mentions the opposition of Dr Cook and Dr Chalmers, but makes no allusion to the others. His work was published in 1849. Dr Macfarlane's "History" appeared in 1846—a rather caustic production. Shortly after the passing of the Chapel Act, Dr Cunningham took part at the ordination of a chapel minister in Roxburgh Place, Edinburgh, and addressed him thus:—"Allow me to congratulate you on the passing of that Act under which you are this day to be admitted to a seat in the Church Courts. It has entailed upon you great responsibilities. Not that you are altogether such as we are. At all events, you are better than the Dissenters; and I trust that, by the blessing of God, you will strive to prove it." How consoling!

Another question was introduced which arose out of the last, and hastened the crisis of 1843. This was the claim of Spiritual Independence,* a claim which was opposed, not only by the Civil Courts, but by the Low Church or Moderate party in the Church itself. Thus the Non-Intrusionists did battle at once with three foes—the Voluntaries, the Civil Courts, and their own brethren. It will not be denied that the Voluntaries unanimously and vehemently resisted the claim of spiritual independence to a Church in alliance with the State;† and the Civil Courts, at the instance of the Moderates, issued interdicts to nullify the acts of the Non-Intrusion majority. The strife thickened. All hope of reconciliation waxed fainter day by day. Auchterarder, Lethendy, Marnoch, and Culsalmond, became the finger-posts along a rapid and perilous journey. The Disruption, or Secession of 1843, was indeed inevitable after the Strathbogie induction at Marnoch in 1841, unless one or other party should retrace its steps, but "Retreat, not a hair's-breadth," was the watchword, and the Church was rent in twain. Lord Clarendon styled his work, on the abortive struggles of the Stuart Dynasty to crush the liberties of England, the "History of the Great Rebellion." The Non-Intrusionists termed their great Secession the "Disruption;" but those who remained in the Establishment denied that there was any disruption in the proper sense, and maintained that, though the Non-Intrusionists had been foiled in the Civil Courts, the constitution of the Church of Scotland had continued intact. To avoid ambiguity, I shall employ the term Disruption, especially as I shall have frequent use for the other word. It may not be amiss to present the reader with the numerical results of the Disruption, extracted from Dr Turner's‡ "History of the Secession of 1843":—Taking all the 1203 ministers of the Church, 752 remained, and 451 seceded. If, however, we analyse these, we find that 681 parish ministers remained, while

* Affirmed in the General Assembly, on May 23rd, 1838, by a majority of 183 to 142, the mover being Dr Robert Buchanan.

† See Dr Wardlaw's Lectures on "National Church Establishments."

‡ A careful perusal of Dr Turner's work has convinced me that it is the most faithful record of the transactions preceding that memorable event. It is much shorter than Dr Buchanan's and Dr Bryce's, and more trustworthy and charitable than either.

389, or less than a third, seceded. Of chapel ministers, 162 seceded, while 71 remained. Had the Presbyteries of the Church voted as then constituted, 60 would have voted "Remain," and only 18 would have voted "Secede." Had *quoad sacra* ministers been excluded—as, of course, they ought to have been—all the Presbyteries would have voted against Secession, with the exception of only 8 or 9, these being almost exclusively in the Synods of Ross and Sutherland.*

Neither space nor inclination permits me to re-write the history of the eventful years immediately preceding the Disruption. Histories have been written by partisans on both sides to vindicate the policy of their several leaders. The intensity of the interest felt by the public far exceeded that manifested during the recent discussions on the Irish Church, since the struggle was at our own doors, and was for our own hearths and altars. None but those who listened to the thrilling debates in the Tron Church and St Andrew's Church, till the morning light streamed through the dingy windows, can conceive the irrepressible anxiety which weighed like

* Quoted in Charteris' "Life of Dr Robertson," p. 173. Dr Charteris states that "the ministers in the Synods of Ross and Sutherland are under the domination of 'The Men'—a set of lay fanatics who set themselves above everything established and orderly." I heard a similar censure twenty years ago from two prominent ministers in Aberdeen, one Free Church, the other United Presbyterian. Dr Norman Macleod is quite justified in describing the districts in which the "men" domineer, as pervaded by "unreasonable and superstitious fanaticism, which finds no parallel, perhaps, except in ultramontane Romanism." Dr Robert Buchanan has been lately boasting in Liverpool of the predominance of the Free Church in Ross-shire, but the Liverpudlians know little and care less for the "lay fanatics." A Professor of Edinburgh University has told me, that before 1843, they urged a parish minister to allow them to purge his communion roll, to which he at last reluctantly consented. They began by deleting his own name! "Investigator," that is, Dr Phin, asserts that many of the "Men" wallow in impurity, and that when subjected to the discipline of the Church prior to 1843, they denounced the minister as "Arian," "Arminian," "Moderate," "Latitudinarian." So much for "Men-ridden Ross-shire," who wear long cloaks and a peculiar head-gear. I am not aware if the "Men" are equally influential in Caithness. Mr Thomson, now Free Church minister in Wick, when in the Establishment, contributed to the Statistical Account of Scotland the following estimate of the inhabitants of the capital of the herring fishery:—"The parishioners of Wick are shrewd and attentive to their own interests; their shrewdness, however, sometimes degenerates into cunning. Unchastity, both in men and women, is lamentably frequent, which appears from the records of the Kirk-Session to have been always the case."

a spell on the crowded audience while names were called, votes counted, decisions announced, and protests recorded.

Two strictures on the proceedings may be offered. The Veto Act, carried in 1834 on the motion of the late Lord Moncreiff by a majority of 184 to 138, was at best a small measure, falling very far short of the abolition of Patronage.* It gave to the male heads of families, being communicants, the privilege not to elect a preacher, but to object to him without reasons. More than this: as late as 1841, when Dr Cunningham's motion for the abolition of Patronage was lost by 139 to 133,† Dr Chalmers abstained from voting, and it was not till 1842 that it was carried by 216 against 147, the minority being led by Procurator Bell. On that occasion Mr Bell was supported by his son-in-law, Mr James Moncreiff,‡ advocate, who had not then held any official post. "What respect could Government have for that House if, from year to year, they should be found shifting their ground, finding Patronage this year to be lawful, and the next year to be sinful? Might it not be justly said, 'We know not what ground they may take hereafter?'"§ His words have been signally verified: the Free Church leaders have shifted their ground on far more vital questions than patronage.

The principle of spiritual independence is one of great intricacy, and one which must be asserted with the utmost caution, because, when pushed too far, it is subversive, not only of civil, but also of religious freedom. It is remarkable, too, that other Presbyterian Churches have rarely, if ever, come into such collision with the Civil Courts. Even after the Disruption, which was to make the Free Church and the Court of Session "better strangers," like Orlando and Jaques in the Play, the ghost of Auchterarder started up in the Cardross case, and a heavy sum was levied in the Free Church to defray the cost of the law-suit, amounting, it is said, to £3,000.

* According to the "Scotsman," but Dr Robert Buchanan makes the majority 6 instead of 5. The discrepancy is immaterial.

† "Though intended as a boon, it has been sulkily received by the people."—M'Kerrow's "History of the Secession Church," p. 739.

‡ Lately Lord Advocate, now the Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland.

§ See "Scotsman" of May 25th, 1842. There is no mention of his name or speech in Dr Robert Buchanan's "Ten Years' Conflict."

It seems needful to correct a misapprehension which prevails in some respectable quarters respecting the grounds of the Disruption. Why did the Non-Intrusionists leave the Church?* I answer that the laity left to secure the election of their own ministers: that was their principal ground; the question of spiritual independence was quite secondary, and hardly mooted by the mass. Why did the ministers secede? On both grounds, but with many of them spiritual independence was the principal, especially with those who had been lukewarm supporters of Anti-Patronage. Patronage might be right or wrong, it might be indispensable to the harmonious action of a State Church, or "earthly, sensual, devilish," as Dr Cunningham styled it. Yet it was undeniable that all the Parish Ministers had crossed that threshold, not in entering into Church membership, not in receiving license, but in mature manhood, when ordained to the care of souls. Whether they were morally bound to resign their livings after changing their opinions on Patronage, is a question which I am not required to answer or to argue. Whatever difference of sentiment may have existed as to the precise reason or reasons which influenced the ministers and laymen respectively in seceding from the Church, it is indisputable that they held one common principle with the same tenacity as in the Establishment, namely, the right and duty of the Civil Magistrate to extend Christianity, and on certain conditions, to endow its ministers.

On the first day of the first meeting of the Free General Assembly, Dr Chalmers, the Moderator, uttered these memorable words:—"The Voluntaries mistake us, if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. We hold by the duty of Government to give of their resources and their means for the maintenance of a gospel ministry in the land; and we pray that their eyes may be opened, so that they may learn how to acquit themselves as the protectors of the Church, and not as its corruptors or its tyrants. . . . That is to say, though we

* Within four years after the Disruption this question must have arisen; for in "The Earnest Student" I find Mr Mackintosh, who was an accomplished Free Church Student of Theology, and a special favourite of Dr Chalmers, writing—"I am persuaded that many of our population entertain very erroneous and unenlightened notions of the grounds of our separation." ("The Earnest Student," pp. 139, 140, Popular Edition.)

quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise—we are the advocates for a national recognition and national support of religion—and we are not Voluntaries."* Is the prediction to be verified?

Observe the exact position of the Disruptionists. They had abandoned the Church of their fathers in sorrow, perhaps in anger. That Church they stigmatised as "Bond," "Residuary," "Erastian."† Were they prepared to join the United Secession or Relief Churches, whose union in 1847 gave rise to the United Presbyterian Church? Such a step would have been branded in 1843 as a base betrayal of their dearest heritage. So far from thinking of this as expedient or probable, the truce between the Free Church and these bodies was soon broken. When Dr Cunningham and the Rev. Mr Chalmers‡ of Dailly came back from the United States with contributions from the American Churches to aid the Free Church, whence issued the cry, to "Send back the money?" Not solely or chiefly from the Establishment. When the United Secession Church was suspected of heresy on the Atonement doctrine,§ when the late venerated Dr John Brown and Dr Balmer, Professors in that Church, were arraigned at the bar of their Synod by Dr Andrew Marshall and by Dr Hay, of Kinross, in what Church did the cry of heresy resound? Chiefly, if not solely, in the Free Church; for the Establishment was silent. No judgment is pronounced on those stones of offence. Perhaps the Free Church was justified in not sending back the money, and perhaps the United Secession Synod acted wisely in absolving the two Professors, whose eminence as theologians, preachers, and writers rendered them bright ornaments to any Church. The work of their Chairs and Pulpits was more congenial to their tastes,

* From Dr Chalmers' Introductory Address at First Assembly of Free Church—See Hanna's Life of Dr Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 346. Dr Robert Buchanan, in his report of Chalmers' speech, omits this memorable passage. (See "Ten Years' Conflict," chap. xv.)

† The last chapter of Dr Robert Buchanan's "Ten Years' Conflict" is devoted to the proceedings of the "Bond Establishment."

‡ Now Rev. Dr Chalmers, Professor of Theology, English Presbyterian Church, London.

§ See Chapter vii., "Memoir of the Rev. Dr Brown," by the Rev. Dr Cairns.

and surely more profitable to the Church, than haranguing in Presbyteries and Synods, in season and out of season.

Having spoken of the chief civil and ecclesiastical transactions in Scotland during the last forty years, I now go back to 1732, exactly a century before the passing of the first Reform Bill. In that year the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling,* preached before the Synod of Perth and Stirling an earnest sermon against the corruptions of the Church, particularly patronage and laxity of discipline.† After a long contention, not with the Civil Courts, but with the tribunals of his own Church, he was deposed by the General Assembly in 1740. He was the founder of the Seceders. In 1747 this body was rent asunder by a bitter dispute respecting the propriety of members taking the burgess oath,‡ the two sections being termed respectively Burghers and Anti-Burghers. The feud between them was very fierce. The Anti-Burghers excommunicated the Burghers, including Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, their common founders. In that sentence the Rev. John Erskine, minister at Leslie, Fifeshire, and son of the Rev. Ralph Erskine, acquiesced, though it is pleasing to add that he afterwards retraced his steps. A daughter of Ebenezer Erskine was the wife of the Rev. Mr Scott, Seceder minister of Gateshall, who also joined the Anti-Burghers. On his return from a meeting of Synod, she asked which side he had taken, and, on being told, she answered, "Then you are no longer my minister;" and to the end of her life she rode on horseback every Sunday to the Burgher church at Jedburgh. The Session records of a Burgher—now United Presbyterian—congregation in Leith contain minutes of cases of discipline, to the effect that persons having been convicted of the grievous sin of attending the Anti-Burgher Kirk had been suspended, and after confessing their faults, had been restored to Church privileges. I have heard an United Secession minister, the son of an Anti-Burgher minister, tell how, when a few Anti-Burgher ministers used to dine with

* See Note A, Appendix.

† His text was taken from Psalm cxviii. 22, "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner."

‡ By the Royal Burghs Reform Act, the oath was abolished, 3rd and 4th Will. IV., cap. 76, sec. 36.

his father on the Monday after the Sacrament, each of the guests was wont to relate stories against the Burgher minister of his vicinity. How edifying and seasonable! On the other hand, the Burghers retaliated, though perhaps in a milder form.* When the Rev. Adam Gib, the "Anti-Burgher John Knox," preached in the open air at Dalkeith, two Burghers went to hear him, one of them being the father of the late Rev. Dr Wardlaw. Remaining on the further side of a hedge, they thought themselves secure; but the Burghers, having heard of this irregularity, sent two elders to warn them against repeating such hedging in future. Of course they obeyed. In Fifeshire, there lived the worthy wife of a Burgher minister. When probationers came to her house after the Union, she would ask them, "Were you an A or a B?" If he answered an A, she was less frank and communicative than she was to a B. I have not heard how she received an R (Relief) probationer. These facts I state on the authority of most respectable and trustworthy living ministers and members of the United Presbyterian Church. The Rev. Dr Donald Fraser, of Kennoway,† Fifeshire, a man of equal learning and piety, in his "Life of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine," now long out of print, describes the split as "a memorable rupture," "a deplorable event," and "distressing to Mr Erskine's tender and affectionate heart." Dr Fraser's mother was Mr Erskine's daughter, who was married to the Rev. John Fraser, Auchermuchty. United

* The Burghers were sometimes termed Moderates, in contrast to the Anti-Burghers. See "Ornaments of the Faith," an excellent collection of biographies, by the Rev. Dr Jamieson, of Glasgow. My readers in the east of Scotland will remember Dr Jamieson as the popular minister of Westruther and of Currie. His father belonged to the congregation of Professor Paxton of the Old Light Anti-Burghers. One son, now Dr Jamieson, joined the Church of Scotland, while another became a minister of the Episcopal Church in Canada.

† Dr Donald Fraser, the biographer of the Erskines, and translator of Witsius, was a pre-eminently devout and almost morbidly conscientious man, husbanding every moment in theological study and pastoral work. With him the spirit of the Erskines expired in the United Secession Church. Eschewing politics, whether civil or ecclesiastical, he continued to the last to mandate his sermons, which were carefully elaborated; and in his old age, when his memory failed him, his congregation objected to his using notes! He died about 1842. When the Voluntary controversy raged so fiercely in Fifeshire, Dr Fraser remained neutral, but no partisan on either side ever breathed a word against the saintly Seceder pastor of Kennoway. His nephew is the Rev. Henry Erskine Fraser, Crossmyloof, near Glasgow, who is a great-grandson of Ebenezer Erskine, and son of the Rev. William Fraser, Alloa.

Presbyterians now joke pleasantly over the Seceders' squabbles of the last century, but they were no joke to those who suffered by them. The pitching of stones into the pond was a frolic to the boys, but death to the frogs.

In 1752 the Relief Church was founded by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Minister of Carnock. Like the Erskines, he protested against patronage and unsound doctrine in the Establishment, and, like them, he was deposed. Gillespie's early career was somewhat eccentric. Having joined the Seceders' Divinity Hall at Perth, he left it in ten days, in consequence of differing with the Professor on the terms of Christian communion, and the obligation of the Covenant. He repaired to Dr Doddridge's Theological Academy at Northampton; and was licensed to preach by the Independents. Returning to Scotland, he rejoined the Establishment, and was ordained at Carnock, where he remained for ten years. He was joined in his schism from the Church by the Rev. Thomas Boston of Jedburgh, son of the author of the "Fourfold State." In addition to their other reasons of Dissent, the Relief fathers taught the doctrine of "communion among all visible saints," —some, however, restricting it to "visible saintship among Presbyterians."* This provoked the wrath both of Burghers and Anti-Burghers, who clung tenaciously to what was termed "strict communion." According to Dr Struthers, the diligent and dispassionate historian of the Relief Church, the feud must have been very bitter; for he states that, about 1770, "the contest which ensued between the two branches of the Secession and the Relief is one of the most heartrending pages in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland: it took place between parties professing in the main the very same religious principles."† But while the Relief Church was making pro-

* See "History of the Rise of the Relief Church," by Dr Struthers, in the "United Presbyterian Fathers." Gillespie was the author of a posthumous treatise on Temptation, advocating strong views respecting the perpetual agency of the Prince of Darkness in human affairs. Robert Hall, too, thought that the subject of Satanic influence was strangely neglected in our times, and that Satan is the head of a spiritual empire of vast extent, comprehending innumerable subordinate agents, probably far exceeding the number of the human race, just as innumerable angels of light fight under the banner of the Redeemer.—(See Lindsay's Life of Gillespie.)

† See Struthers' "History of the Relief Church," chap. xiv.

gress,* the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers were doomed to be a prey to intestine dissensions.†

Both Churches had begun to break loose from their anchorage. "The Seceders of 1733 thought that the connection between Church and State ought to be much closer than it is. They blamed the legislature for tolerating heresy. They counted it as a national sin that the Solemn League and Covenant was not recognised at the time of the Revolution."‡ Then was kindled the Old and New Light controversy. "A great majority in both Synods denied the right of the civil magistrate to interfere with the Church, and of the Church to accept support from the State."§ Even Dr M'Kerrow "finds it difficult to give a just description of the character of this controversy."‖ The Anti-Burghers appear to have departed farther from the doctrines of the Seceders than the Burghers; but the seeds of modern Voluntaryism were sown in both Churches. The Anti-Burghers refused to give the civil magistrate any power in matters of religion, and repudiated the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant, in so far as it attaches penalties to matters purely religious: in fact, they remodelled their Testimony. The Burghers did not interfere with the Covenants, nor did they abjure the national recognition of religion: they admitted the obligation of the Covenants, but did not require their preachers or ministers to approve of compulsory measures in regard to

* The founders of the Relief Church did not institute a separate Theological Hall till 1823, so that for about seventy years their students were trained in the Established or other Halls.

† In 1782, there was a famous Smytonite or Smytonian controversy, named after the Rev. David Smyton, of Kilmaurs. The point of dispute was whether, in dispensing the Lord's Supper, the minister should, before offering up the consecration prayer, lift the cup and a portion of the bread, and thereafter offer prayer and an address, take them again, and distribute them to the communicants. Mr Smyton, who, with the majority, followed this usage, objected to those who did not take the bread and cup before the prayer, but lifted them only before distribution. In this dispute, the redoubted Adam Gib, who was in the minority, took a leading part. Though the Synod exhorted forbearance, Mr Smyton would not listen to it, and, in consideration of his age and infirmity, he was only suspended, not deposed from the ministry. He had refused to submit to censure. See M'Kerrow's History, chap. ix.

‡ Macaulay's speech on Dissenters' Chapels Bill.

§ See the Rev. Dr Goold's clear and comprehensive article on "Presbyterianism," in the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

‖ "M'Kerrow's History of the Secession Church," p. 579.

religion.* Dr Andrew Marshall of Kirkintilloch, who led the Voluntary crusade at the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, had been an Anti-Burgher. Dr John Brown prided himself in being a Burgher Seceder.† The Erskines would have witnessed with dismay this departure from principles which they valued as pearls of priceless worth; for they longed to return to the Church of their fathers whenever it should be purified from its errors. In 1799 the Associate or Burgher Synod, which had espoused the new views, was forsaken by three ministers, who founded the Original Burgher Synod, vulgarly called the Old Light Burghers. Similar causes drove, in 1806, from the General Associate Synod, or Anti-Burgher Synod, a minority of ten, styling itself the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, commonly called the Old Light Anti-Burghers; and including the Rev. Dr M'Crie, the historian of Knox and Melville, and the Rev. Archibald Bruce of Whitburn, the Professor of Theology. The minority were deposed from the office of the ministry —an indignity which they resented in a "Declaration," setting forth that the majority had "violated justice, constitutional principles, and Presbyterian order." The consequences of this disruption were deplorable. It caused great confusion. Congregations and Sessions were rent asunder; friendships were broken up; the people, distracted by abstruse discussions concerning the Revolution Settlement, Articles of Union, and Acts of Parliament, knew not what side to espouse. Lawsuits about Church property ensued over the whole country, and the Judges usually decided in favour of the majority in each congregation. Bitter feelings were engendered, and unholy passions were called into play by the strife.‡

Amid these miserable disputes, so disgraceful to any Christian Church, every lover of learning must be pained to know how ill it fared with the illustrious Dr M'Crie, whose profound and erudite vindication of the Reformation throughout Europe, redeemed the whole race of Seceders from the stigma of sectarian bigotry.§ There could be no doubt that he

* "M'Kerrow's History," pp. 237, 238.

† See Letter to the Rev. Dr Cairns, by John Brown, M.D.

‡ "M'Kerrow's History," p. 237.

§ This eminent and modest man, who was a great theologian as well as a masterly historian, received the degree of D.D. in 1813, after the publication of his

had stuck fast to the principles of his covenanting forefathers. He sternly refused to abide by the New Testimony, and was, of course, deposed. His congregation was nearly equally divided in regard to the new views. Both sections of it appealed to the Court of Session to retain possession of the church property. Lord Woodhouselee, the judge who adjudicated in the case, was puzzled how to decide,* and ordered that the ministers of the two parties should occupy the pulpit alternately. At length a compromise was effected, by which Dr M'Crie retired from his chapel, but not till after the police and the military had been employed to enforce the spiritual decision of an Anti-Burgher Church Court. Dr Thomas M'Crie, now a minister of the Free Church,† and son of the illustrious victim, complains bitterly of the injustice done to his father, who was compelled to officiate, from 1810 to 1813, in an obscure chapel in Carrubber's Close, until the chapel in West Richmond Street‡ was built. Referring to these proceedings, the biographer says,

Life of Knox. He was the first Dissenter on whom this honour was bestowed by the Edinburgh University. Being inclined to regard such a degree as incompatible with Presbyterian parity, he objected to accept it; but Mr Blackwood, his liberal publisher, paid the graduation fees from his own pocket, and thus kept him in ignorance of the matter. M'Crie would never allow himself to be called Doctor in Church Courts. Robert Hall positively refused a degree. Mr Cyrus R. Edmonds, of St John's College, Cambridge, who was on intimate terms with Robert Hall and John Foster, told me that somebody once said, "Mr Hall, they call you Doctor Hall in America." "Indeed, sir!" answered Hall; "I did not know that. A Baptist brother was lately walking in New York, and called out 'Doctor!' to some one he knew. Will you believe it, sir? Twelve doctors rushed across the street in obedience to his summons. So they call me Doctor Hall in America!"

* It has been frequently affirmed that the Civil Courts are fond of reviewing and quashing the decrees of Church Courts. This is so far from being true that the Civil Courts, both in Scotland and England, have a horror of ecclesiastical cases; but domineering ecclesiastics in both countries must be kept within bounds.

† Formerly so. He was lately a Professor of Theology in the English Presbyterian College, until laid aside by partial blindness; colleague of Professor Lorimer; both highly estimable men and efficient Professors. Professor Lorimer's recent valuable "Life of Patrick Hamilton," the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation, ought to be read by every student of ecclesiastical history; it is full of curious and important matter, derived from the author's diligent researches in the great libraries of Scotland, England, France and Germany. Professor Lorimer is a cousin of the late lamented Dean of Guild in Edinburgh.

‡ Now called "M'Crie Church," and in connection with the Free Church.

"The most remarkable feature in the whole history is the readiness with which, on every occasion, they availed themselves of the secular arm to enforce the judgments of the Ecclesiastical Courts. . . . The expulsion of the deposed ministers was sought from the civil powers, expressly on the ground of the ecclesiastical censure; interdicts, sheriff-officers, legal functionaries, and even military force were called into action, to carry into effect the sentence pronounced by these foes to the magistrates' power, *circa sacra*. . . . Lords and lawyers accustomed only to sharpen their wits on the dry pandecks and practicks of the bar, were unexpectedly called upon to pass sentence on points which involved a proper understanding of "Gib's Display" and Nairne's "Reasons of Dissent."* And thus Dr M'Crie was harassed and well nigh ruined, because he would not abandon the principles to which he had sworn to adhere, nor violate the solemn vows which he had taken at ordination.†

The year 1820 was signalized by the Union of the Associate Burgher Synod and the General Associate Synod, forming what was thenceforth known as the United Secession Church.‡ Ten

* "Life of Dr M'Crie," by his Son, pp. 136, 137. I am surprised that so few Presbyterian ministers have read this instructive biography, of which Hugh Miller, a rather fastidious critic, wrote—"We have just risen from the perusal of the Life of Dr M'Crie, by his son—the bulkiest volume we ever ran over at a sitting, and certainly one of the most interesting we have ever read."

† When Dr M'Crie came home from the miserable squabbles in Church Courts, his wife used to remark his anguish and dejection. What living theologian will now write the Life of Calvin, which he once projected? By the way, a truthful and saddening record of domestic sorrow in the manse might be written by the wives and daughters of those ministers who have been distracted in their pastoral work by harassing conflicts in Church Courts!

‡ This Union is thus pleasantly chronicled by Lord Cockburn in his posthumous "Memorials of His Times:"—"Their spiritual junction was celebrated by a corporeal feast. They were the first people who dined in the large room of the Waterloo Hotel. I wish I had seen the jubilee of 300 or 400 of the great-grandsons of Ebenezer Erskine." In 1826, Dr Heugh, a quondam Anti-Burgher, wrote to Dr John Brown, a quondam Burgher, of "the demon of party spirit, who is still suffered to lurk in many a reverend bosom, and to distil within it his virus right plenteously. This, of course, is *betwixt ourselves*." Between myself and my readers, I fear that the demon was alive in 1832, for I remember that, in the United Secession Church, Burghers invited Burghers only to assist on the communion Sabbath, whereas Anti-Burghers were employed at Fasts, and on Saturdays and Mondays. Whether the demon be now dead I cannot tell; perhaps he has transmi-

ministers of the Burgher Church, who objected to the Union, stood aloof, and took the name of Protesters; but in 1827 they joined the Constitutionalists, and the united body became the Synod of United Original Seceders. In 1839 a portion of the Original Burgher Synod returned to the Establishment, and in 1842 the remainder coalesced with the Associate Synod of United Original Seceders to form the Synod of United Original Seceders, then numbering thirty-six congregations. But the embers of the old feuds must have been still slumbering, for to this Union two Anti-Burgher ministers refused to accede, unless the Burgher Synod would confess that their forefathers of 1747 had been guilty of the sin of schism. These ministers were the Rev. Mr Wright, of Lauriston, Edinburgh, and the Rev. Mr Lammie, of Pitcairn Green, near Perth. They were styled the Two Witnesses. Unhappily they differed, and Mr Wright now proclaims himself the "faithful Witness."* In 1847 the Relief Church joined the United Secession, forming the now large and flourishing United Presbyterian Church. Another Union remains to be noted. In 1852 the Synod of Original United Seceders, by a majority of one, joined the Free Church; but of the congregations there was a majority of at least ten which stood out. Those which did join were allowed to retain their Covenanting and other opinions, which the Free Church might reckon peculiar. They were "open questions." The remanent Seceders strongly condemn the procedure of the adhering brethren, and flatly deny that Free Churchmen are the successors of those who sacrificed

grated to another Church to "distil his virus right plenteously." I was taught to look upon Relief ministers with something like contempt, but I suspect that, in some respects, Burgher and Anti-Burgher ministers might have improved by their example.

* Mr Wright is now far advanced in years, and is a quaint, forcible preacher, much relished by those who wail over the degeneracy of modern Presbyterians. Some years ago, a gentleman who had been reared under Dr M'Crie, and who had with him joined the Free Church in 1852, went on Sunday evenings to hear Mr Wright's lectures on the Apocalypse, which he much admired. On one occasion he had taken, as he told me, three well-pointed pencils for the purpose of taking notes. An elder having observed them, questioned him on his intentions, which were frankly confessed, when he replied, "You have no warrant for this in the Word of God; this is a house of worship, and I must stop you;" to which the M'Crie Seceder rejoined, "I can worship and take notes too;" but as the elder was resolute, he was compelled to remove to a remote seat. Another little demon!

their goods and lives in maintaining their testimony for Christ's Crown and Covenant. They pity the credulity of the Free Church leaders, who think their claim to that title confirmed by the accession of a few Original Seceders, who were alleged to have been lured by the prospect of sharing in the Sustentation Fund.*

The latest ecclesiastical rupture deserves special notice. The Reformed Presbyterian Church was in existence long before the Secession of the Erskines. Its pedigree is noble. Its founders were the brave and devout Covenanting peasantry who were scattered and hewn down among the glens and mountains by the merciless dragoons of Claverhouse, and whose sufferings have been so affectingly told by the historian Wodrow, and by the poet Pollok in his "Tales of the Covenanters."† The position of this Church was peculiar. Seeing that William III. did not declare his adherence to the Solemn League of 1649, it forbade its members to swear allegiance to his Government, and thus excluded them from all civil and military offices. It represented the oldest Presbyterianism of Scotland, and was deemed proof against all innovation. Whilst other Scottish Churches were distracted and paralyzed by the plagues of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, it enjoyed what was fondly believed to be perpetual peace and concord in its little Goshen. This delusion was dispelled by the schism of 1863, when the majority, consisting of forty-four congregations, so far modified their creed as to enable them to enter into negotiations for union with other Churches. The majority voted "that members of the Church who may be led to exercise the elective franchise, or take the oath of allegiance, shall not be visited with the infliction of ecclesiastical penalties to the effect of suspension and

* See "A Catechism for the Times," by the late Rev. D. A. Sturrock, Original Secession Church, Midholm, an acute and instructive work, setting forth the claims of his own Church, and exposing the backslidings of the three large Presbyterian denominations. Mr Sturrock was an inexorable Covenanter.

† In my boyhood I was wont to regard Reformed Presbyterians, or "Cameronians," with a sort of awe. They were reckoned stricter than even the Seceders in all respects, and when there was no service in their Church, they attended no other. Like the older Seceders, they held "promiscuous dancing" in utter abhorrence, especially at harvest homes.

expulsion from the privileges of the Church.* The minority, consisting of eleven congregations, hold fast by the principles of Renwick, Peden, and Cameron, while both Churches retain the original designation.† James Renwick deserves to be held in everlasting esteem. He was the last of the Scottish martyrs. Like his Master, he often had not where to lay his head. Cowering in holes of the earth, a price was set upon his head. At length he was caught. He was executed in 1688 in the Grassmarket, when his countenance was lighted up with heavenly joy. His fate reminds us of the brave Switzer Zwingle, who fell praying in the field of Keppel, when the Zurichers were attacked by the Catholic cantons.

Such is an outline of "the dissidence of dissent," as Edmund Burke terms it. Its annals remind the classical scholar of the bitter feuds which distracted the Greek States and the Italian republics. They bear the impress of the Scottish temperament at every stage—great intellectual hardihood, keen moral sensitiveness, extreme pertinacity, indomitable activity, imperfect sympathy with the feelings, if not with the rights, of others. Every man counted it his duty and privilege to protest against the opinions and practices of every other man. Testimonies abounded. Banners were everywhere unfurled and hoisted. Fancies were magnified into principles. Hairs were split into filaments, and these again into filaments still finer, reminding us of the interminable lawsuits in the Court of Session and the Court of Chancery. There is as much truth as pleasantry in the sarcastic commendation of the deliberation of the old Court of Session, which Sir Walter Scott puts into the mouth of mine host of the "Hawes:"—"I have a law affair mysel'—a ganging plea that my father left me, and his father afore left to him. It's about our backyard. Ye'll maybe hae heard of it in the Parliament House—*Hutchinson* v. *Mackitchinson*. It's a weel-kenned plea—it's been four times in afore

* See "Reformed Presbyterian Magazine," June, 1863.

† See article "Presbyterianism," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," (8th edition), by the Rev. Dr Goold, published in 1859. In that year, Dr Goold seemed to have no expectation of any constitutional changes in his Church. My younger readers may need to be told that the Reformed Presbyterians are generally termed "Cameronians" and "Macmillans," after two of their famous preachers. In Ireland, they are still termed "Covenanters," and are very strict in their discipline.

the fifteen; and deil onything the wisest o' them could make o't, but just to hand it out again to the Outer House. O, it's a beautiful thing to see how long and carefully justice is carried on in this country."* Dickens, in his "Bleak House," has humorously described an English instance of the law's delay.†

Yet Scotland justly cherishes the memory of the early Seceders. They were keen polemics and subtle casuists. Perhaps they were punctilious to excess, and did not distinguish sufficiently between the transient and the permanent in orthodox Christianity. If their doctrines were pure, they were hardly peaceable, and their faith, though steadfast, did not uniformly yield the blessed fruits of patience, temperance, brotherly kindness, and charity. Profoundly imbued with the necessity of grasping and propagating evangelical truth, disgusted with the Laodicean lukewarmness, the spiritual apathy and the lifeless formalism of the world around them, setting their affection on things above, and not on things below, they strove earnestly for the truth once delivered to the saints as the only path to a pure life and a glorious death; when their weapons were unsheathed, it was to defend the citadel of Faith. They walked by faith and not by sight, and they overcame the world. Their means were scanty, their households frugal, their habits simple, their piety unaffected, their morals irreproachable, their deportment blameless and exemplary, in an age of religious stagnation and depressed theology. While we must regret that they spent so much energy in ephemeral disputes, we must acknowledge their stoutness of heart, their singleness of purpose, their contempt for hollow compromise, their patient endurance of reproach, their unflinching loyalty, and their unswerving support of the Protestant Hanoverian succession. The Established clergy were often men of inferior learning, of questionable tastes, of sullied reputation, and of lax views in theology. "We are in possession," says Hugh Miller, "of a volume of the 'Edinburgh Magazine,' when that periodical was edited by Gilbert Stuart, and when the Moderate clergy

* Cited by the Right Hon. George Young, M.P., Lord Advocate, in his Inaugural Address to the Scottish Law Amendment Society, January 25, 1869, and published in the March "Journal of Jurisprudence."

† See Note B, Appendix.

of the South of Scotland were the chief contributors. The articles are temperate throughout, except on two subjects—the Secession and John Knox; but where these are introduced, we find that the writers seem to have lost all command of temper, or to have regarded as legitimate the foulest epithets of opprobrium and reproach. There is, in particular, one article on Knox, written, apparently, by the editor, in which our venerable Reformer is described as mean, illiterate, narrow-minded, cruel, and libidinous; and so completely does the engraver for the work appear to have entered into the writer's spirit, that the figure in an accompanying print wants only horns and a tail to render it complete." About the same period Robert Haldane was invited to dine with the Presbytery of Edinburgh, when, to his disgust, the reverend jesters sang bacchanalian songs, containing absurd allusions to their own pastoral duties. The burden of one song was the prescription of a bumper of Nottingham ale to be taken in the pulpit, to be taken at the different stages of the discourse; which prescription, according to a sarcastic "Quarterly" reviewer, would certainly have given a most unfair advantage to the preacher over his audience.* In 1717, Professor Simson, of Glasgow, avowed his disbelief in original sin and other standard doctrines, and received only a gentle admonition from the General Assembly. In 1786, Dr M'Gill, of Ayr, in his "Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ," avowed Socinianism.† The same tribunal finally dismissed the complaints against him as groundless and unreasonable. The vigilant Burgher Synod, however, condemned his errors. In 1756 it had censured Dr Carlyle, Established Minister of Inveresk, who had been seen in the Edinburgh Theatre at the representation of Home's Tragedy of Douglas.‡ Its horror for theatres seems to have been inherited by the Burgher poet Pollok,§ who, in his "Course of Time," published in 1827, pronounces this verdict:—

* See Vol. xcviii. of "Quarterly Review."

† Dr M'Gill's ministerial converts in Ayrshire were designated New Lights; they were instrumental in sapping the religious belief and moral character of the gifted and ill-fated poet Burns. (See Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland.)

‡ "M'Kerrow's History," p. 527.

§ See Note C, Appendix.

"The theatre was, from the very first,
The favourite haunt of sin; tho' honest men,
Some very honest, wise, and worthy men,
Maintained it might be turned to good account;
And so, perhaps, it might; but never was.
From first to last it was an evil place;
And now such things were acted there, as made
The devils blush; and, from the neighbourhood,
Angels and holy men trembling retired."—Book vi.*

In England matters were even worse. A recoil was inevitable. Accordingly, about the same period, the Methodists, headed by Wesley and Whitfield, abandoned the Anglican Church, and the brothers Erskine, the Church of Scotland. Both Secessions accomplished a great and good work, in combating heresy, in stimulating indolence, and in rebuking vice. Here and there they were seconded by faithful Established clergymen in both countries, in organizing Bible societies, and in preaching the gospel to the heathen at home and abroad. But the heat of the work was borne by the poor, despised Dissenters. In a singularly able and interesting biography of the late Dr Thomson of Coldstream, by his son-in-law, the Rev. Mr Landreth,† it is told how that indefatigable promoter of Bible

* Many philosophers and some theologians have maintained that dramatic entertainments may minister both to the intellectual and moral elevation of the spectators. Experience, however, has rather decided the other way. I suspect that Shakspeare's Plays were rarely found in the libraries of the older Seceders, who admired the Epic poems of Milton. Yet, while all must lament the occasional indecency which stains the pages of Shakspeare, I am not sure but, independently of his Arianism, some speeches spoken by Milton's apostate angels may exert a worse influence. Is not the very attempt to put words into the mouth of the Almighty akin to presumption? As far as heaven is removed from the earth, his thoughts are higher than our thoughts, and his ways than our ways. Actors are generally regarded as inadmissible to membership in Presbyterian Churches. Although, as a class, they do not stand high, intellectually or morally, there are several striking exceptions. The Episcopalian Charles Kean, and the Roman Catholic Vandenhoff, were exemplary in all the relations of society; and a tragedian far superior to either, who retired from the stage many years ago, not only quarrelled with his High Church clergyman for his Anti-Protestant principles, but became a leading member of a Congregational Church. Actors lead weary, ill-requited lives. Most of them hope to be Garricks or Footes, but end their career in the purlieus of their vocation.

† "Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., Coldstream." By his Son-in-law, the Rev. P. Landreth. Edinburgh: Elliot. This interesting and elaborate

circulation was, about sixty years ago, actually threatened with magisterial interference for organizing Bible Societies, along with the Rev. Mr Hunter of Swinton, better known as Dr Hunter, the late excellent minister of the Edinburgh Tron Church. In those days, dissent did not walk as now in her silver slippers.

Yet, in looking back on the progress of the Methodists and the Seceders, who comprised many of the excellent of the earth, is it not almost incredible that, when Whitfield, invited by the Erskines, visited Scotland to promote revivals, his labours were strongly discouraged by the Seceders, because he would not adopt Presbyterianism, and confine his labours to their sect?* Dr Andrew Thomson admits and laments their bigotry.† The conference was held at Dunfermline. Whitfield's enthusiastic,

Life ought to be in every congregational library, and in every Mechanics' Institute. Besides being a monument to a most meritorious minister, who was mainly instrumental in procuring the abolition of the hateful monopoly of Bible printing, it contains graphic sketches of clerical, social, and political life during the first half of this century. How many hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling have been saved by cheapening the Word of God, statists may be able to compute. Yet, Dr Adam Thomson was a martyr, as he had been the apostle, in this glorious cause. Surely he, of all men, was entitled to be the first Secretary of the National Bible Board.

* See the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff's "Life of Dr John Erskine, of Greyfriars," and "Life of Dr Erskine" in the Biographical Dictionary. The character and results of Whitfield's preaching caused so much difference of opinion in the University of Edinburgh Literary Society, of which Principal Robertson and Dr John Erskine were members, that the Society was dissolved. His principal supporters were the Evangelical ministers in the Church of Scotland. Gillespie and the Relief party also aided him. His preaching is thus described by Sir James Stephen:—"Taking his stand on some rising knoll, his tall and graceful figure dressed with elaborate propriety, and composed into an easy and commanding attitude, Whitfield's 'clear blue eye' ranged over thousands, and tens of thousands, drawn up in close files on the plain below, or clustering into masses on every adjacent eminence. A 'rabble rout' hung on the skirts of the mighty host; and the feelings of the devout were disturbed by the scurril jests of the illiterate, and the cold sarcasms of the more polished spectators of their worship. But the rich and varied tones of a voice of unequalled depth and compass quickly silenced every ruder sound,—as in rapid succession its ever-changing melodies passed from the calm of simple narrative, to the measured distinctness of argument, to the vehemence of reproof, and the pathos of heavenly consolation. 'Sometimes the preacher wept exceedingly, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome that for a few seconds one would suspect he could never recover, and, when he did, nature required some little time to compose herself.'"—("Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," p. 393.)

† See "Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church," p. 134.

catholic, and practical temper was roused. "The Seceders," said he, "are building a Babel, which will some day fall about their own ears." After the rupture of Whitfield, ex-Servitor of Pembroke College, Oxford, with the steadfast Seceders, it was not likely that his friend, the Rev. John Wesley, ex-Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the imperious founder and lawgiver of Methodism, would succeed in obtaining their favour.* Indeed, Whitfield had warned him of the hopelessness of making the trial. Wesley was repeatedly in Scotland, and his disappointments are thus expressed in his own censorious style:—"The Seceders were more uncharitable than the Papists. I have not yet met a Papist in the kingdom who would tell me to my face all but themselves must be damned; but I have seen Seceders enough who make no scruple to affirm none but themselves could be saved. My congregation at Glasgow was miserably small, verifying what I had often heard before, that the Scotch dearly love the word of the Lord—on the Lord's day. If I live to come again, I will take care to spend only the Lord's day at Glasgow." With regard to the modes of conducting public worship, Wesley not only claimed Christian liberty, but put the Seceders on the defensive. "He was a member of the Church of England, but he loved good men of every Church. He always used a short private prayer when he attended the public service of God; why did they not do the same? Was it not according to the Bible? He stood whenever he was singing the praises of God in public; were there not plain precedents for this in Scripture? He always knelt before the Lord when he prayed in public, and generally in public he used the Lord's Prayer, because Christ had taught us, when we pray, to say, 'Our Father which art in heaven!'" Standing among the ruins of Aberbrothock Abbey, he thus denounced the icono-

* See Southey's Life of Wesley, vol. ii. This disagreement of Wesley with the Seceders is not recorded by any of the historians of the Secession Church. I have searched for it, to no purpose, in Dr Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine, in Dr M'Kerrow's History of the Secession Church, in Dr Thomson's Sketch of its History, in Dr Harper's Memoir of Ebenezer Erskine, and in Dr Eadie's Life and Times of Wilson; but it is quoted by Grub in his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, a work of 4 vols., showing immense research, and a minute acquaintance with the history of Scottish Churches. Mr Grub is a Scottish Episcopalian, and, though a prejudiced, is a learned writer.

clastic propensities of the Scots generally:—"God deliver me from your reforming mobs!"*

So true is the observation of Sir James Mackintosh, that small sects, which need most toleration from the larger denominations, are the most intolerant of one another; and the saying of Father Paul, that in verbal contentions the smallness of the differences often nourishes the obstinacy of the parties. To those whose curiosity prompts them to trace the growth of that numerous, wealthy, and compact society, the Wesleyan Methodists, it may be instructive to examine the causes which have led to various secessions from its pale, as witnessed in the Primitive Methodists, Methodists of the Free Church, and of the New Connexion. They are commonly ascribed to the despotic authority of the Conference.†

Nor was it only in the Established Churches of England and Scotland that errors in doctrine and laxity in conduct had taken deep root. If the scope of this publication permitted me, it would be easy to demonstrate the signal benefits conferred on England by Presbyterianism during the seventeen years after it was established in 1645. Dr Owen was made Vice-Chancellor of Oxford;‡ education flourished; scandalous ministers were ejected; public morals were purified; the national courage was high and unsullied. When Italian Protestants were massacred at the instigation of the Pope, Oliver Cromwell warned his Holiness that the roar of the English cannon should be heard before his castle of St Angelo; and Oliver never threatened in vain. Indeed the late Dr Hamilton of London was not far wrong in asserting that Presbyterianism had done more for England during its brief reign than had been

* I pass near to Holyrood Palace twice daily. It is now greatly renovated and improved; but while the mansion of the Queen has been rendered fit for a royal residence, is it seemly that the Chapel, the Temple of God, should be roofless and desolate? The Glasgow Cathedral has received liberal grants from the Treasury. For my own part, I should not object to tolerant Episcopalians rebuilding and occupying Holyrood Chapel.

† See the able article, "Methodism," in "Encyclopædia Britannica" (8th edition), by the Rev. Dr W. L. Alexander.

‡ See an elegant biography of Owen, by Dr Andrew Thomson, also the article on Owen, by the same Author, in the 8th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

achieved by Episcopacy during the following two centuries.* Yet English Presbyterians, the lineal descendants of John Owen, and Richard Baxter, and Matthew Henry, gradually exhibited that remarkable declension from their ancestral faith, which plunged them into unmasked Socinianism. Two explanations of this phenomenon have been given. Dr Cumming of London has ascribed it to their having lost their State endowments, whereas others account for it by the fact that their Presbyterian discipline had been supplanted by Congregationalism.† Whether of these hypotheses is the more satisfactory, it is unnecessary to determine; but the observer of doctrinal perversions is aware that, in Ireland also, the Presbyterians were so tainted with Arianism, or semi-Arianism, that, in 1830, seventeen ministers were ejected by the Synod of Ulster, and now constitute the Remonstrant Synod. In Scotland, there is reason to conclude that Crypto-Socinianism was professed by certain ministers of the Established Church. From all this we may infer that adherence to the orthodox faith can be guaranteed neither by Establish-

* See Neal's History of the Puritans. See also an able History of Protestant Nonconformists, by Dr Price, a Baptist minister, who, though censuring the over stringent penal statutes of the Presbyterians, admits their zeal for education, theology, and strict morality. Even Godwin justifies their compulsory closing of the theatres, which pandered to gross immodesty and profligacy,—excesses which our own times have seen revived in London, so that a Lord Chamberlain's warning has been deemed necessary. All the actors in the civil war declared for the cavaliers, and against the Puritans. This very year has witnessed Mr Bruce, the Home Secretary, striking a vigorous blow against Betting Houses, which, I regret to say, are multiplying in Scotland, and demoralising all classes, even boys in our public schools. A writer in a most respectable London journal, dated Nov. 5th, 1869, laments the debasing entertainments in some of the Music Halls, asserts that they would not be tolerated at a theatre, brands them as disgusting and abominable, as being prohibited even in France, and appeals to the interference of the Lord Chamberlain. A second Oliver Cromwell would make short work with such cesspools of iniquity. Sensualists and debauchees would stigmatise him as a canting hypocrite, but he would close the doors of these infamous dens, put the key in his pocket, and probably consign the proprietors to Newgate, which has often contained better inmates.

† The Rev. Mr Liddon, of Oxford, finds parallel declensions in the Presbyterian Churches of Geneva, France, Holland, and America, and appears to hint at their Calvinism and depreciation of the Christian Sacraments as the main causes. See Liddon's Bampton Lecture for 1866, "On the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,"—the elaborate work of a learned and devout English High Churchman and sacramentarian, but pervaded by great candour and acquaintance with the works of theologians belonging to other Churches. Have there not been Arian and Socinian Bishops in the Church of England?

ment with endowment, nor by endowment without Establishment, nor by the absence of both. Another useful lesson may be learned from these spectacles of degenerate Presbyterianism, namely, that a Church may nominally profess its attachment to a well-defined orthodox system of belief, and practically discard the fundamental doctrines of Christianity itself, that truths which were spirit and life to the parents become dead formulas in the mouths of their children, and that a flimsy veil of profession strives hard to conceal the moral deterioration. The vexatious and protracted litigation in Lady Hewley's charity will at once recall the facts and confirm this assertion. Such was the impression produced by the attempt of the Socinians who claimed to be Presbyterians, attempting to retain possession of funds which were bequeathed to believers in the Westminster Confession, that, to this day, a "Presbyterian trick" is a phrase used to brand any unfair retention of property.*

* I first heard that phrase in 1846, in Leicester, the central town of England, and supposed it was meant to be personal to myself. Scotsmen resident in England soon discover that the Dissenting ministers never claim the title of clergymen, which is exclusively applied to their brethren of the Establishment. He is astonished, perhaps pained, to see many clergymen sitting as Justices of the Peace, spending whole days in hearing cases of petty theft, and pronouncing sentence on poachers, when they are usually more severe than the lay magistrates. He is also struck with the attendance of women at funerals, which often take place on Sundays, and require the attendance of the clergyman or of his curate in the afternoons. The confirmation of communicants by the Bishop is a very solemn and interesting ceremony, each clergyman in the town or district leading to the Bishop at the altar the young persons whom he has prepared in the ordinance. Neither the Established nor Dissenting ministers are wont to expound the Scriptures as in Scotland. They nearly always preach sermons; the Scottish usage, however, seems preferable. The English have a passion for bell-ringing; indeed, De Quincey asserts that in no other European country are bells rung scientifically. Then, again, the bands or ties, which are worn by Scottish ministers, are used by English barristers, and by many charity schoolboys; but some of the High Church Clergymen have discarded bands, and assumed a sort of collar in their stead. Wesleyan ministers, though repudiating the title of Dissenters, rarely use gowns or bands, and, when preaching funeral sermons, they are habited in black scarfs. A Scottish novice views, with equal surprise, a Sunday wake, and a drunkard in the stocks. Lastly, he is unable to comprehend the profound wisdom of the English laws requiring twelve men composing a jury to be unanimous in their verdict. Why not insist on the twelve consulted judges in London to be unanimous too? In either case, the question is confessedly difficult, and admits of two judgments. Whether a jury ought to be permitted to return a verdict of "Not proven," the "Non liquet" of the Roman law, is more debateable: perhaps it tends to render them indolent: the accused escapes with tarnished reputation.

Let us direct our attention to the developments of Scottish Presbyterianism. During a long residence in England, I was frequently invited by Nonconformists to explain the distinctions between the various Scottish Presbyterian denominations. Candour constrains me to own that I hardly ever succeeded in the attempt, and, before I had ended my story, the listeners had lost the thread. In England, the Nonconformists have always abandoned Episcopal rule, and have, in many instances, deviated from its tenets and ritual. Until very recently, they were excluded by their scruples from the ancient Universities, and were compelled to seek their education, either at their own Colleges, or at the Scottish Universities, whence they carried away kindly reminiscences of Scotland and its people. The Rev. Robert Hall, and the Rev. James Edmonds, his successor in Cambridge, were graduates of King's College, Old Aberdeen; the Rev. John Howard Hinton, and the Rev. Enoch Mellor, are graduates of Edinburgh; the Rev. Nathaniel Haycroft, and Mr George Dawson,* are graduates of Glasgow. Scottish Dissent presents a striking contrast. With a few exceptions, too trifling to call forth more than a passing notice, it has borne a strong resemblance to its parent. In doctrine, discipline, worship, in the training of its ministers, in its whole organization, it is fashioned after the same model. Presbyterianism seems indigenous to the soil: other Churches are sickly exotics. It is beside my purpose to inquire whether it is the best system, or the only one sanctioned by Scripture; † but it is beyond all question that it is essentially Scottish, that it has strongly influenced the other national institutions, and that its opera-

* Mr George Dawson, now the well-known lecturer in Birmingham, was once minister of an orthodox Baptist chapel in that town, but, owing to a radical change of opinion on theological points, he was, about 1846 or 1847, ejected by a Chancery suit. His adherents erected a new edifice, styled, I fear, inappropriately, the Church of the Saviour. He is, I believe, a Londoner of Scottish parentage.

† At the time of the Union of the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Synods in 1820, Dr Brown headed, with Dr Balmer, a small but influential party, who regretted the assertion of the formula of ordination, that the Presbyterian is "the only form of government" sanctioned in Scripture, as needlessly offensive to other Churches.—(See Cairns' "Life of Dr Brown," pp. 84, 85.) Dr Chalmers did not believe that any peculiar form of ecclesiastical government had been authoritatively enjoined, so that its adoption was matter of imperative and universal obligation.—(Hanna's "Life of Chalmers," vol. iv. p. 379.)

tions have been on the whole salutary. It has held its own for three centuries; there are no symptoms of its losing its hold, and both Episcopacy and Congregationalism have been recently approximating to its government, while the Presbyterians and Congregationalists have been borrowing from the Episcopalian ritual. Attentive observers of "Signs of the Times," will have read with interest the report of a meeting of the Episcopal Synod of Glasgow and Galloway, at which the following motion of the Rev. Mr Oldham, of St Mary's Chapel, Glasgow, was unanimously passed:—"That this Synod respectfully represent to the College of Bishops their belief that it would tend to promote the best interests of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, if the laity were allowed to sit by representation in the Diocesan and General Synods, and to vote upon all questions except those affecting doctrine, in a manner not inconsistent with Catholic custom and the practice of the Primitive Church."* As far back as 1852, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone published a letter, "On the Functions of Laymen in the Church," addressed to the Primus of Scotland. Similar movements have originated in the Convocation of Canterbury and York, and in the Church of Ireland. By adhering to the practice of the Primitive Church, the Glasgow Episcopalians may learn to attach less value to holy orders transmitted through a long questionable series of Arian and Popish Bishops.† Congregational Unions, again, are gradually assuming the functions of Presbyterian Assemblies.

If any Non-Presbyterian imagines that his Church has been exempted from divisions such as have convulsed the Presbyterian, he labours under a delusion. Scottish Episcopacy, which,

* See "Glasgow Herald," September 2, 1869.

† This was written more than two months ago. At a meeting of the Scottish Episcopal Synod, held at Edinburgh Nov. 16th, 1869, it appeared that similar petitions had been received from the Diocesan Synods of Edinburgh, Moray, Ross and Caithness, Argyle, and Aberdeen. The Bishops were greatly divided in their opinion on this subject. While the Primus, Dr Eden, the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Bishop of Argyle, were inclined to accede to the petitions, the majority opposed them, and further discussion was unanimously postponed. Thus it is plain that the laity are knocking at the Episcopal gates, and clamouring for freedom. In Ireland the Episcopalian Synods have gone farther, and have consented to allow laymen to speak and vote in questions of doctrine as well as in merely secular questions. Is not this an approximation to Presbyterianism?

in the reigns of the Stuarts, had trampled on the rights and principles of the Church of Knox and Melville, was hurled from its usurped dominion by the Revolution of 1688, and its blood-stained banners were trodden in the dust. Most persons who possess only a superficial acquaintance with the subject, will be surprised to learn that from its re-establishment in 1661 to its abolition in 1668, and also during the reign of William and Mary, the Episcopal Church of Scotland used no liturgy: the prayers in public worship were extemporaneous. On December 15th, 1661, James Sharp was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, Archbishop of St Andrews; Andrew Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow; James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; and Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane; and thus for the first time Scotland received what was termed the Apostolical Succession. The Prelates deriving their succession from these kept possession of the temporalities, and governed the Church established till the Revolution. During these twenty-seven years, the Church had neither Liturgy, Ritual, nor Creed. Her Confession of Faith was that of Westminster; her services were those of the Presbyterians; she wore their garb; she spoke their language; the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637, usually called from Laud, was not revived; the English Prayer-Book was not adopted.* It is rather singular that just as the Reformed Presbyterians had refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William of Orange, on account of his declining to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, so the Scottish Episcopalians, commonly styled Non-Jurors, also refused to take the oaths, or to pray for the new king, because they believed they would thus violate their ordination vows.† Personally, William III. was disposed to establish the Episcopal Church in Scotland; but Dr Carstairs, his confidential adviser in Holland, warned him of the inevit-

* See "Life and Times of Patrick Torry, D.D.," by the Rev. J. M. Neale, an Episcopalian clergyman of the High Church school.

† "The commons in general, as well as two-thirds of the gentry at that period, had no aversion to the family of Stuart; and, could their religion have been secured, would have been very glad to see them on the throne again." (Autobiography of Dr Carlyle, p. 133.) Of the Episcopalian ministers who conformed to Presbytery in 1688, honest Bishop Burnet, an arousing preacher, whose discourses so often

able effects of such a scheme, and thus saved the Presbyterian Church. The extrusion of the Episcopal ministers was sometimes accomplished with contumely and violence, so that Bishop Russell laments that they have had no Wodrow to tell their piteous tale. In the south-western counties, where the Cameronians or Hillmen were numerous and exasperated by the memory of their cruel wrongs, the Episcopalians, or Malignants, received little sympathy. The people had not forgotten the Marquis of Argyle's execution, nor his dying abjuration of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstitions. The Remonstrants, an extreme section of the Presbyterians, were armed with power to eject scandalous incumbents, and they went to work right heartily. Queen Anne's accession to the throne in 1703 raised the hopes of the Non-Jurors; and in 1712 the English Prayer-Book was introduced into their Church. In 1712, the year in which Lay Patronage was revived in the Presbyterian Church, the Episcopalians obtained an Act empowering them to marry and baptize, and to hold divine worship without molestation. Then came the Rebellion of 1745, in which so many Episcopalians declared for the house of Stuart—a rebellion from which, according to Bishop Russell, they have not yet recovered.* Nor need this surprise us, for they acted in bad faith, and in

gladdened the peasantry of Wiltshire, remarks that they were generally "mean and despicable in all respects;" "the worst preachers he had ever heard;" "ignorant to a reproach, many of them being openly vicious;" "a disgrace to their orders and the sacred functions;" "the dregs and refuse of the northern parts." I leave the two rival Churches to share the reproach of having owned such men.

* See Bishop Russell's "History of the Church of Scotland, from the earliest times till 1792," (1834); and Grub's "History of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity, till 1857," (1861). Lord Neaves, himself a Presbyterian, in the course of a judgment delivered by him in the case of Forbes against Eden, in 1866, said:—"The persecution the members of the Episcopalian Church endured had indeed been severe, particularly from the time of the Rebellion of '45, and it might well be wondered at that any remnant of them had at all survived. It had not been inappropriate if they too had, like the Established Church of Scotland, assumed the emblem of the burning bush, and the motto, 'Nec tamen consumebatur.'" When the Jacobites were dominant in the Highlands, the Established clergy absented themselves from their religious duties, excepting one Macvicar, whose prayer for the King was thus loyally, though dubiously, expressed:—"Bless the King, Thou knowest what King I mean; and may the crown sit long easy on his head; and for the man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown; we beseech Thee in mercy take him to Thyself, and give him a crown of glory."

violation of solemn obligations.* Popular fury was kindled afresh; chapels were burnt down; vestments and sacramental plate were seized; prayer-books were consigned to the flames. Congregations assembled for worship under extreme terror, occasionally in the lofts of ruined stables and cow-houses, approached only by movable ladders and trap-doors. In 1788 Prince Charles Stuart died†—the hero of 1745, the darling of the Jacobites, the subject of hair-breadth escapes and beautiful ballads—so that, in 1792, an Act was passed relieving the descendants of the Non-Jurors from all civil and religious disabilities. Gradually, however, Episcopacy began to rear her head. Nearly the whole of the titled aristocracy had adhered to her communion; many of the gentry and plutocracy were forsaking the Presbyterian Church, partly from false notions of gentility, partly from disgust at the bickerings of ecclesiastical courts, fancying that they had found rest for their souls, and that the blessings of unity, peace, and concord would be transmitted to their children's children. Their delusion was rudely disturbed. In 1842, the second year of a decade teeming with ecclesiastical ferments in Scotland, deep discontent was excited by various changes in the Communion Service, which the malcontents affirmed to be tinctured with Popish heresy.‡ Influential congregations in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, seceded and connected themselves with the Anglican Church, whose Bishops, greatly to the scandal of their Scottish brethren, confirmed young Scottish communicants in Churches south of the Tweed. Other congregations sprung up in other towns, disowning the authority of the Scottish Primus and his college of Bishops. The Primus, the late Dr William Skinner, of Aberdeen, excommunicated the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, who raised an action

* "In the rebellion of 1745, the Scottish Episcopal Church came forth again so flagrantly in support of the despised House of Stuart, that severe restraints could no longer be avoided." (Dr Hill Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 358.)

† See Note D, Appendix.

‡ Mr Grub states that Bishop Terrot had censured Mr Drummond for repeatedly preaching in Non-Episcopal Churches without using a liturgy, a practice forbidden by the Canons. About ten years ago, I heard Dean Close, of Carlisle, dispense with the liturgy when he preached a Total Abstinence sermon, on a Sunday evening, in the City Hall, Glasgow; and, last September, I heard Dean Macneile, of Ripon, dispense with it when he preached on a Sunday evening in the Free Assembly Hall, Edinburgh. Has the present Archbishop of Canterbury never dispensed with it before preaching?

in the Civil Court, and obtained a large sum for damage done to his character. The Scottish Episcopal Church is now, however, assuming a more Protestant and tolerant character; and hopes are entertained that both divisions will soon be re-united in one fold.* Certainly the innovations in the Communion Office, which had awakened the alarm of Sir W. Dunbar and Mr Drummond in 1842, were such as would not have been sanctioned by the Legislature, and the alarm raised was deepened by the migration to Scotland of various High Church clergymen, whose doctrines and practices had rendered them obnoxious to their Bishops and flocks in England. Bishop Trower, lately of Glasgow, was one of this class, but fortunately, perhaps, for Scottish Episcopacy, his residence in the north was not long.†

* Since I wrote the above, I have made a rather unpleasant discovery. I had seen in one of the Edinburgh daily newspapers grave reflections on an answer to a question in Dean Ramsay's "Manual of Catechetical Instruction." Having learned, from long experience, the expediency of verifying quotations, I procured, in Stillie's, the catechism itself. To my astonishment, the answer could not be found. Scanning the book more narrowly, I found it to be the seventh edition, published in 1854. Suspecting, however, that the newspaper might be right after all, I went to Messrs Grant & Son, the publishers, and procured the tenth edition, bearing date of 1866, and alighted on the obnoxious passage, at p. 173—"Are we justified in denying salvation to those who are out of the Church, as *we* consider it was constituted by the apostles? We are not their judges.—Matt. vii. 1; Rom. xiv. 4." Now, I ask the reader to compare this carefully with the question and answer of 1854, at p. 173:—"Should an Episcopalian deny salvation to those who are out of the Church, as *he* considers it was constituted by the apostles? Certainly not.—Matt. vii. 1; Rom. xiv. 4." Has there been any reaction in the Scottish Episcopal Church? For my part, I greatly prefer the answer of 1854 to that of 1866; and I sincerely hope that, in spite of deans and bishops to boot, the Episcopal laity will hold the same opinion. It is quite true that no man is the judge of his fellow-man in respect of a future state, God alone being the Judge of all; but the answer of 1866 is suspiciously uncharitable to the great majority of educated and exemplary Scotsmen. Meanwhile, it has cost me half-a-crown to determine this nice point; and Dean Ramsay owes me a gratis copy of his next edition, especially if it contains any alteration of his views on the salvability of Presbyterians. In other respects, I am free to confess that, like his reverend brother's of the Original Secession, his catechism embodies much useful instruction; indeed, the two may be perused with profit. The worthy Dean was, as I have been told, reared a Presbyterian: he knows that, though he may modify his sentiments, "the Word of God abideth for ever" (1 Pet. i. 25).

† Bishop Trower has led a wandering life since he left Glasgow. During the last few years he has been officiating for the late Dr Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, in whose diocese he would have freer scope for his High Church tendencies, and he has taken a prominent part in opposing Dr Temple as the successor of Dr Philpotts. Neither the late Bishop nor the new one would meet the hearty approba-

The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland is a mere Mission Church; its bishops are only *in partibus;* the hierarchy has not been erected; hence the priests do not possess the rights enjoyed by their brethren in England and Ireland, and they are entirely under the control of the Bishops. With their professed unity in dogma, and their actual allegiance to their bishops, it might have been conjectured that the Infallible Church would enjoy peace and harmony in a country where its inferiority in numbers and intellect rendered these blessings so indispensable. But such was not the case. Glasgow was the scene of a violent revolt against the Episcopal authority. In 1864, Bishop Murdoch, an aged and generally respected clergyman, and a Highlander, provoked the fierce and persistent resentment of a large number of his clergy, of whom nearly all were Irishmen by birth or parentage. Twenty-four of these malcontents subscribed an indictment, consisting of twelve propositions written in Italian, which was sent to the Pope. The bishop was accused of partiality to Highland priests, in assigning them the best livings, of misappropriating, if not embezzling, large funds bequeathed for pious purposes, and of damaging the cause of Catholicity.† The "Free Press," a Roman Catholic newspaper in Glasgow, espoused warmly the side of the rebel priests. Its editor was Mr Keane, an enthusiastic Irishman of

tion of most Scottish Presbyterians, but I strongly suspect that they would prefer the tolerant Dr Temple; for Dr Philpotts held Presbyterians in priestly abhorrence. It provokes the indignation of any honest Protestant to see Dr Pusey so frequently and so dogmatically raising his protests against Episcopal nominations. To say nothing of his having been himself suspended for his sermons on the Eucharist in 1843, the greater part of his long life of seventy years has been spent in undermining the principles of the Reformation. Perhaps he can tell how many clergymen he has been actively instrumental in handing over to the Papacy. His friend, Dr Newman, went over boldly, and it is well known that his intrepid spirit has chafed under the Papal yoke; while Dr Pusey clings to his Divinity Chair in Oxford, enlisting recruits for Archbishop Manning. I may state that Dr Temple's obnoxious Essay has been ably criticised by Dr James Buchanan in his Review of the "Essays and Reviews." Dr Manning's rapid promotion in the Roman Catholic Church has given deep offence to the old Bishops who had not been perverts. It is ascribable partly to his plausible and supple character, but mainly to his having been a favourite of Pope Pio Nono when he preached in Rome to the English, and to his having inherited an ample estate. This information I owe to a learned Roman Catholic barrister, who grudges Dr Manning his premature dignities.

† I was favoured with a sight of this remarkable indictment, which was couched in Italian and English, in parallel columns.

extraordinary linguistic accomplishments, who had been for ten years a student in the Propaganda College in Rome, and was conversant with the usages of the Papal Court. A committee of fifteen Cardinals sits weekly to consider such complaints, and Cardinal Barnabo, their secretary, appointed the Bishop to admonish the refractory editor and the priests. What communication was made to the Bishop was never known. On his death, in 1865, his nephew, Dr Gray, was installed as his successor, and, in accordance with the earnest request of the appellants, an Irish coadjutor was also appointed. A fresh outbreak soon followed, not between Bishop and priests, but between the two Bishops. Money matters were alleged to be the bone of contention. Archbishop Manning was at length deputed by the Pope to investigate the Episcopal brawl. Both Bishops resigned; one received a new appointment; the other retired into private life; and very recently Dr Eyre, of Hexham, was appointed Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow.

About the same period, the late Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh would appear to have been in trouble. Dr Gillis, a Canadian, had come to Edinburgh, nearly thirty years ago, as successor to Dr Carruthers. The new Bishop was a great ritualist; he exerted himself to render the services gorgeous and attractive; and on Sunday evenings he was wont to deliver controversial lectures. Flippant in style, and adroit in Jesuitical logic, he strove hard to prove that his Church had been misunderstood and maligned; florid and sensuous music was introduced; and a few Protestant simpletons were inclined to halt between two opinions. The Bishop even affected liberality in some public movements. He was frequently abroad, and, whilst in France, delivered, at Orleans, a French sermon, much lauded by his partisans, but really stuffed with vicious rhetoric. Complaints began to arise. He was at the best a showy and costly bishop. It is understood that he received an admonition from Rome as a "vescovo vagabondo;"* and that before his death the affairs of his diocese were virtually administered by three trustworthy priests.

Towards the end of last century, the Scottish Presbyterian

* A roving Bishop. He was too often away from his diocese, and liked to be airing his French.

Churches were annoyed at the rise of a new sect, with a new form of Church government—that of Congregationalism, or Independency. Two brothers, who had been officers in the Royal Navy, and had inherited ample fortunes, became awakened to the destitute condition of thousands perishing for lack of knowledge, whom neither the Establishment nor the Seceders had overtaken in their evangelistic labours. The Haldanes* were joined by two ministers of the Established Church—the Rev. Greville Ewing and the Rev. William Innes. Chapels, named Tabernacles,† were erected in various places, and open-air preaching was largely practised. Their next convert was a young student destined to enrich the theology of his country, and to acquire wide celebrity as an accomplished preacher, an elegant writer, an acute controversialist, and an unwearied promoter of Christian philanthropy. This was Ralph Wardlaw, a great-grandson of Ebenezer Erskine. He had completed his course of theological study, under Dr Lawson, at Selkirk, when, in 1800, he abandoned the Burgher Seceders, and cast in his lot with the new Church.‡ The Rev. Rowland Hill, the eccentric but devout pastor of Surrey Chapel, London, came down to Scotland to testify his sympathy with the devoted and self-sacrificing labourers in the Lord's vineyard. The Established Assembly warned their congregations against "a set of men, whose proceedings threatened no small discord to the country." And how were they treated by the Seceders? Let Dr Alexander, the successor of Dr Wardlaw in learning, eloquence, and authority, answer:—"The Anti-Burghers excommunicated the holy, devoted, and useful George Cowie, of Huntly, for having heard Mr Wardlaw and Mr Hill preach in the course of one of their itinerant excursions." This does not surprise us after what we have seen of the wholesale excommunications inflicted by that body. The struggling followers of Gillespie, too, must have caught the infection:—"The Relief body also, for-

* See Note E, Appendix.

† The Edinburgh Tabernacle, in Leith Walk, is now an Evangelical Union Chapel. Shade of Robert Haldane!

‡ When the defection of Wardlaw was told to his Professor, Dr Lawson looked sad, but after a pause said, "Well, Ralph Wardlaw will make a good anything." Mr Wardlaw ascribed his change to Dr Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.

getful of their own early history, and of what they owed to the English Dissenters, levelled their edicts against the countenancing of any as preachers who had 'not attended a regular course of philosophy and divinity in some of the Universities of the nation, and who had not been regularly licensed to preach the gospel.'"* Dr Alexander's estimate of the Seceders, both Burghers and Anti-Burghers, seems to be very moderate. After adverting to the indifference and inefficiency of the Establishment, he remarks, touching the Seceders:—"There was but little energetic piety even among them; little of aggressive activity in the propagation of the gospel; little of what Shaftesbury derisively, and yet most truly, called 'the heroic passion of saving souls;' and a much too prevalent disposition to set the mere apparatus of ecclesiastical order above the great end for which such alone is valuable."

For a few years the Independents grew and multiplied in Scotland. In 1808, however, differences in doctrine sprung up. The infant Church soon became the scene of a schism. Forgetful of the important doctrines which they had gloried in preaching, they were distracted by such questions as, whether mutual exhortation were a binding duty; whether a plurality of elders were imperative; whether collections should be taken from all the members of the congregation, or from the communicants alone; whether the Lord's Supper should be observed twice in a year, once a-month, or once a-week; whether it were lawful for Baptists and Pædo-Baptists to communicate together. Angry feelings were engendered, and Baptists and Pædo-Baptists, into which the communion was split, took no more sweet counsel together. In 1813, the Congregational Union was instituted, which holds annual meetings for conference and consultation on matters affecting the Churches.† Disavowing any right to control the proceedings of individual congregations, the Union reserves and exercises the power to cut off from its connexion those who swerve

* Alexander's "Life of Dr Wardlaw," pp. 41, 42.

† See "Memoirs of Greville Ewing," by his Daughter; "Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane," by Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, "Father of Independency in Scotland," by R. Kinninburgh; "Memoirs of the Rev. John Watson," by the Rev. W. L. Alexander, D.D.

from its standard of orthodoxy—a power which was pushed too far by Dr Wardlaw, if we accept the decision of Dr Alexander, his biographer. In England, also, the Congregational Union has been approximating to a Presbyterian General Assembly.

The year 1829, which is associated by politicians with the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, recalls to the student of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs the publication of Dr Andrew Marshall's famous Voluntary sermon, and the outbreak of what were derisively called the Row heresies. Row is the name of a secluded parish in Dumbartonshire, of which the Rev. John M'Leod Campbell, son of the Rev. Dr Campbell, of Kilninver, was minister—a young man of ardent piety, and much beloved by his people. Mr Thomas Erskine, advocate, had published a work on the "Freeness of the Gospel," * the views of which Mr Campbell warmly espoused, and preached to multitudes who flocked to his ministry. His doctrines seemed to be at variance with those of Calvinism, as expounded in the Confession of Faith. The Row doctrines led to much controversy and excitement in religious circles. Mr Erskine and Mr Campbell were loudly condemned by the sterner Calvinists.

Erskine's "Freeness" Dr Chalmers thought "one of the most delightful books that had ever been written." "I don't like," he said, "narrowing the broad basis of the gospel to the pin-point speculations of an individual brain." "One thing (he added, and his countenance assumed a look of deep feeling), I fear, and I do fear that the train of his thoughts might ultimately lead to doubt the eternity of future punishments. Now that would be going sadly against Scripture."† The history of Mr Campbell's

* Mr Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, near Dundee, like Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, is a descendant of the Earls of Mar, but by a different branch. In 1866 he received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. His work on the "Internal Evidences" reached the eighth edition. His other works are—an "Essay on Faith," "The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel," "The Gifts of the Spirit," "The Brazen Serpent," and "The Doctrine of Election."

† Hanna's Life of Chalmers, vol. iii. pp. 246, 247. Of Erskine's "Freeness of the Gospel," which produced so deep a sensation in Scotland, and even in England, Dr Wardlaw writes to Dr Leonard Wood:—"I have seldom, if ever, perused a book with more mingled feelings of approbation and disapprobation, delight and sorrow. I love the man. Every one that knows him must love him. I looked upon his works on account of their coming from an educated and accomplished layman,

case is painfully interesting. The exclusive study of the Word of God, and his constant intercourse, as the servant of God, with his people, had rapidly increased his acquaintance with the extent of the demand for personal religion. The hollowness and hypocrisy of the professions made of repentance in men's approaches to God appeared to him most awful. Persons, whose demeanour indicated that they were not new creatures, often expressed the strongest approbation of sermons peculiarly fitted to disturb their internal peace. "The first doctrinal and practical subject," says Mr Campbell, "on which I remember to have felt that much light was given me was *repentance.* I was led to see how much of that little repentance which was to be found, was merely regret for the personal evil consequences of having exposed one's self to the wrath of God; and how large a portion of the confessions of sin, with which even the most serious were acquainted, were, more truly speaking, confessions of folly and imprudence, and not of guilt." Meditating prayerfully on his painful ministerial experience, and feeling anxious that sinners should have a sure hold of their personal safety, in the prospect of eternity, Mr Campbell was gradually led to entertain the doctrine commonly called "Assurance of Faith," declaring to his people that their first step in religion must be their resting assured of God's love in Christ to them as individuals, and of their individually having eternal life given to them in Christ. Rumours of Mr Campbell's heresy were circulated in Glasgow. He had taught that Christ had died for all, and that the gospel had announced Him as the gift of God to every human being. His earnest pleadings and instructions had borne rich fruit in Row, but had provoked hostility in other quarters. The Greenock ministers, Dr Scott excepted, shunned his society, and his only sympathisers were the Rev. Robert Story, of Roseneath, Mr Erskine, advocate, and Mr A. J.

and of the style, in which they were written, in which there is so much of taste and elegance of mind, as eminently fitted to do good in a particular circle of society. . . . He was a hearer of mine one day, some little time ago—perhaps six weeks ago—and he came into the vestry, and walked part of the way home with me. But we could only break ground on the subject, and leave it. He was then unshaken in his sentiments. You ask how Dr Chalmers is succeeding in his new office; you must be aware, I presume, of his having filled, last winter, the *Divinity Chair* in the Metropolitan University. That class has risen from the dead."

Scott.* At length twelve persons, including a notorious smuggler and a drunken tailor, memorialised the Presbytery of Dumbarton to inquire into their minister's "pernicious errors," and at the first meeting of that reverend Court he was forewarned that he might expect neither justice nor courtesy, for another memorial, subscribed by eighty householders and heads of families, expressing their undiminished attachment to Mr Campbell, who "had so faithfully taught them to rest in Christ for salvation, and to live in the hope of blessed immortality," was rejected, while the other was ordered to lie on the table. The sequel can be easily conjectured from this ominous commencement. Mr Campbell was libelled for holding some doctrines which he had taught, and others which he disclaimed, Mr Story pleading earnestly in his behalf.

One of his co-presbyters, the Rev. Mr Pagan, of Bonhill, objected to his appealing to the Word of God, alleging that the Presbytery must stand by the Confession of Faith, since by it they held their livings! The relevancy of the libel was sustained, Mr Story, and Mr Dunlop, an elder from Cardross, being the only dissentients. The probation of the libel followed. Among the witnesses against Mr Campbell were men who agreed on few other points,—the Rev. Patrick Brewster and Dr Robert Burns, of Paisley; the Rev. William Cunningham,† of Greenock, afterwards Principal of the Free Church College; and the Rev. John Arthur, Independent minister at Helensburgh. After a lengthened examination, the Presbytery found the libel proven. An appeal was taken to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Mr Story appeared at the bar, and maintained the conformity of Mr Campbell's teaching with the Scrip-

* Mr A. J. Scott, son of the Rev. Dr Scott of Greenock, soon left the Church of Scotland, and afterwards became Principal of Owen's College, Manchester, where he died recently.

† Mr Cunningham was then Assistant to Dr Scott of the West Church. I have before me his brief evidence. He had taken notes of a sermon delivered by Mr Campbell in the Floating Chapel, Greenock. His evidence begins:—"The Rev. William Cunningham, Minister of the Gospel, Greenock, aged twenty-five, unmarried, being solemnly sworn, examined, and purged of malice and partial counsel, depones, That he is Assistant Minister of the New Parish of Greenock."—(See "Whole Proceedings in the Case of the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, Minister of Row." R. B. Lusk. Greenock: 1831.

tures and the standards of the Church. Mr Campbell supported his appeal in a long, able, and elaborate speech, which fills sixty-five pages of the volume containing a record of the whole case. He maintained that his doctrines were sanctioned by the Confession of Faith, by the Confession of the Church of Scotland in 1560, by the Confession of Helvetia, by the Confession of Faith of the English Congregation in Geneva, by the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, by the Confession of Bishop Jewel, by the Confession of Augsburg, by the Confession of Saxony, by the Westminster Confession of Faith, and by Patrick Hamilton, John Knox, and John Calvin. The relevancy of the libel was affirmed, the only dissentients being the Rev. Mr Wylie, now the venerable Dr Wylie of Carluke, and Mr Melvin, his elder. On the following day the Synod proceeded to debate the case, and the church in which the Court met was thronged with spectators, many of whom had travelled many miles from the shores of the Clyde. Several aged ministers treated their young brother with much contumely. Dr Patrick Macfarlane, of Greenock, afterwards a Free Church minister, spoke of him as having "polluted the whole country with heresy." Dr Maclean, of the Gorbals Church, Glasgow, said:—"I am vexed to the bottom of my heart, that whilst in London we have an individual of our Church searching after the Millennium and other extravagances, and in our own Synod others uttering such doctrines as we have heard in this Court, our neighbours should have to say that the Church of Scotland was going about with a fool's coat upon its back, and thus exposing our Church to the scorn and contempt of all rational people."* Principal Macfarlan, of Glasgow, carried a motion that the case be referred to the Assembly, Mr Wylie alone dissenting. That

* The allusion is plainly to the Rev. Edward Irving. Since the publication of Mrs Oliphant's Life, the tide of public feeling has been flowing strongly in favour of the gifted Rev. Edward Irving. He taught the "peccability" of Jesus Christ's human nature, which I once heard a great Scottish theologian anathematise as "an unspeakably loathsome doctrine." Yet Dr De Pressensé, in his noble vindication of the Divinity of Christ, in answer to Renan, says—"If impeccability is claimed for Him, He is withdrawn from the true conditions of earthly life. His humanity remains only an illusion, a transparent veil, through which appears His impassible Divinity. Being no more like unto us He is no more ours."—("Jesus Christ, His Life, Times, and Work," p. 232.)

venerable body met to try Mr Campbell for teaching what a reverend doctor had branded as "serpent doctrines" in an inferior court. The evidence formed a large volume of above 400 pages. Dr Chalmers, who was not a member, afterwards declared that he would have taken a month to read the evidence and other publications relating to the question. But the members of the Assembly were not so slow of apprehension, and could brook no delay. Dr Campbell, of Kilninver, the father of the defender, produced a petition from 420 individuals in the parish of Row, composing, with the exception of Dissenters, nineteen-twentieths of the whole population, and concluded an earnest speech with the touching words—"Moderator, I am the oldest father at present in this House: I have been forty years a minister in the Church. . . . You have heard my son this day in his own defence; and he has told you that he just teaches that 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' and, with regard to universal pardon, he has told you that he just means by it that sinners may come to God through Jesus Christ as to a reconciled Father. Now, I am sure there is none among us all who has anything to say against this. And with regard to Assurance, what he says is no more than this—that a sceptic is no Christian; that doubting God is not believing Him. And he has told you that he abhors what are called the Antinomian doctrines of the 'Marrow;'* and I can say that I never heard any preacher more earnestly and powerfully recommending holiness of heart and life. It was certainly what I never expected, that a motion for his immediate deposition should have come from my old friend, Dr Cook; but I do not stand here to deprecate your wrath. I bow to any decision to which you may think it right to come. Moderator, I am not afraid for my son: though his brethren cast him out, the Master whom he serves will not forsake him; and while I live I will never be ashamed to be the father of so holy and blameless a son." What renders the conduct of the Scottish Sanhedrim so deplorable and censurable, was the fact that only a small minority of their number, on the motion of Dr George Cook,

* See Note F, Appendix.

pronounced the final sentence, by a majority of 119 to 6, the greater number having retired at the close of the discussion on the relevancy of the libel, never dreaming that before the light of another day the question of guilt would be decided. Thus Mr Campbell was deposed, in such circumstances of indelicacy and precipitancy as to be without precedent in the annals of the Church. Next morning a distinguished member indignantly addressed the Moderator:—"Why, sir, I should as soon have expected, upon my return to this House, to find yourself deposed as Mr Campbell of Row." Of the minister thus deposed with such unseemly precipitation, Dr Chalmers afterwards said that he was "in conduct irreproachable—in doctrine unexceptionable—but in language rash." Mr Story of Roseneath expected that his own deposition must soon follow, for he had openly avowed Mr Campbell's doctrines, while objecting to his phraseology. "Soon, in all probability," he wrote, "we must become pilgrims from the homes that we love; but I remember Elijah and the ravens." Fortunately he was unmolested in his beautiful retreat, which is separated from Row by an arm of the Firth of Clyde. To the end of his life he believed that the Disruption of 1843 was a divine judgment for the expulsion of Mr Campbell in 1831, since Moderates and Evangelicals had vied with one another in the hunt for heresy.*

Ten years after, the United Secession Church was violently agitated by the case of the Rev. James Morison, minister of Kilmarnock, son of the Rev. Robert Morison, of Bathgate. At Bathgate Academy he had, along with Sir James Y. Simpson and the late Dr John Reid of St Andrews University, laid the foundation of a sound academical education. In the University of Edinburgh Mr Morison won the favour of Professor Pillans, whose discernment of youthful merit was rarely at fault. On leaving the Moral Philosophy Class, Professor Wil-

* In my narrative of Mr Campbell's case, I have abridged the painful details given in Lusk's Report, and in the Rev. Herbert Story's Life of his father, the Rev. Robert Story,—a pleasing and thoughtful volume, evincing a very independent judgment. Mr Campbell has for many years resided near Glasgow and abroad. In 1854 he published a work on the "Nature of the Atonement," and he lately received the degree of D.D. from the University of Glasgow. He is, I am informed, about to settle at Roseneath, within sight of his old parish.

son declared that he had "manifested as much intellectual power as had ever been displayed in his class." His University reputation preceded his entrance into the Divinity Hall. This young minister had highly distinguished himself at the University of Edinburgh, and while prosecuting his theological studies under the Rev. Dr Mitchell and the Rev. Dr Brown, had signalized himself by his great proficiency in Greek and Hebrew. Exegesis was his favourite and constant study, and he devoted especial study to controversial theology. His personal character was unsullied, and Dr Brown predicted for him an auspicious career as a bright and shining light in the Church of his fathers. Mr Morison having been licensed in 1839, took an active part in evangelistic services in the North of Scotland, where he preached that Christ had died for all, and attracted large crowds of anxious inquirers. He was soon ordained in Clerk's Lane Secession Church, Kilmarnock. Rumours of unsound doctrine began to spread. Dr Brown's hopes were speedily clouded. The minister of Kilmarnock was libelled by his Presbytery for unsound teaching on the doctrine of the Atonement. Condemned by the Presbytery, he appealed to the Synod, which in 1841 met at Glasgow, in Dr Beattie's Church, Gordon Street,—long since demolished to make room for a palatial warehouse. Crowds of anxious listeners assembled to hear the defence of the Kilmarnock preacher, whose self-command, earnest conviction, extensive reading, and acuteness in disputation, caused his friends to regret that he could not be induced to retract or modify his sentiments. Right or wrong, they were his deeply-rooted beliefs, and he was declared no longer a minister of the United Secession Church, Dr Brown alone dissenting from the sentence. But Mr Morison was not to be silenced by the sentence, however unanimous: he formed a new congregation in Kilmarnock, where his adherents rapidly increased, and in 1851 he removed to a newly-formed congregation in Dundas Street, Glasgow.* He was the founder of the Evangelical Union Church, which now numbers about eighty congregations, with a Divinity Hall and four Pro-

* The congregation speedily introduced an organ—the first, I should say, in Scottish Presbyterian or Congregational Churches.

fessors, including the founder.* As Dr Brown was, in 1845, put on his defence for the alleged teaching of doctrines somewhat akin to his pupil's, and as the discussions in the Row and Kilmarnock cases have left a deep impress on the modified theology of a large proportion of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, which was previously of a sterner Calvinistic character, it may not be amiss to state, in a few lines, what distinctive doctrines are now held by Mr Morison and his followers. I found my representation on the "Doctrinal Declaration† by the Conference of the Evangelical Union," issued in 1858.‡

The Union, instituted in 1843, is governed on congregational principles, although the Presbyterian ministers who belong to it have not formally renounced Presbyterianism. Congregationalism has been with them a matter of necessity, forced on them by their peculiar position. Indeed, thousands have abandoned Presbyterianism, not from any dislike to the system itself, but from objections to the theological doctrines from which it was wrongly supposed to be inseparable. Any drawbacks which may be advanced against Presbyterianism are, in

* Mr Morison is now known as Dr Morison. His volume on the Ninth Chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans is regarded, by the best literary reviewers in England, as one of the ablest and most learned theological works of the age, and his Commentary on the Bible, which is now advanced as far as Matthew, amply attests the expositor's wide research, vigour of judgment, and keenness of discrimination. His "Vindication of the Universality of the Atonement," in reply to Dr Candlish, is pervaded by great logical acuteness; his theological fairness is evinced by his "disdaining to catch at any advantage, or to avail himself of the peccadilloes which were peculiar to Dr Candlish's original 'Inquiry.'" To reconcile Dr Candlish's fluctuating and seemingly contradictory sentiments on the Atonement would be no easy task, but the two controversialists are not quite fairly matched, Dr Candlish having been weighted with multifarious toils not very conducive to patient theological study.

† See Note G, Appendix.

‡ Published by Thomas D. Morison, 8 Bath Street, Glasgow. That some of the enthusiastic and ill-informed preachers and members of the Evangelical Union use rash language occasionally is very likely. But the quotation from their "Doctrinal Declaration" tallies pretty closely with the abstract of Methodist doctrines given by Dr W. L. Alexander in his article "Methodism," in the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The late Dr Newton, the eloquent Wesleyan minister, was once announced to preach for Dr Alexander, who strongly counselled his hearers to come and hear him. Is doctrine a question of latitude, as Pascal in his sublime misanthropy suggested?

my humble opinion, amply counterbalanced by its obvious advantages. Compactness is secured by its representative unity; while the publicity of its proceedings is a safeguard against the crude and arbitrary judgments of secret tribunals, forbidding appeal to a higher authority.

Mr Morison's separation from the United Secession Church took place just about a century after Ebenezer Erskine had finally quitted the Church of Scotland, and, like Ebenezer Erskine, he was followed by three other ministers, the Rev. John Guthrie, of Kendal, now of Glasgow; the Rev. A. C. Rutherford,* of Falkirk, now of Edinburgh; and his father, the Rev. Robert Morison, of Bathgate. They were joined by a number of respectable Congregational churches, and by a popular Free Church minister, the Rev. William Scott, of Glasgow. Their members were drawn mainly from the Congregationalists, though partly from Presbyterians. On the whole, their tenets were much akin to those of the Wesleyan Methodists, and they had a hard battle to maintain not only against the Presbyterians, whose communion they had forsaken, but against the Congregationalists, hitherto a submissive and peaceable body. And this need not surprise us, for the same men who figure as martyrs in the opening, stirring acts of their life-drama, after they have vindicated their wrongs, and triumphed over their opponents, after life's fitful fever is over, and the fourth act is finished, reappear to wind up their strange eventful history with a little mild persecution. According to Dr Cairns, "Mr Morison became the founder of a religious body, which, with something of a Pelagian tinge on the one side, and of evangelical colouring on the other, holds the usual doctrines of Arminianism."† Such may be the case, although Mr Morison demurs to the accuracy of the description.‡ Waiving this point, Dr

* Mr Rutherford has since returned to the United Presbyterian Church, and is now a minister in Edinburgh.

† Cairns' "Life of Dr Brown," pp. 226, 227.

‡ In 1862, Dr Morison published an "Apology for those Fundamental Doctrines which Maintain and Establish the Freeness of the Grace of God to All," in which he repudiates the "ominous copartnery of Morison and Pelagius." In the "Evangelical Repository" of June, 1861, he had denied the accuracy of Dr Cairns's representation of his doctrines, and of that conveyed by John Brown, M.D. Dr Morison does not hold that a "sinner cannot pray," but denies that the prayers of

Cairns must admit that, at revival services, ministers of the Establishment, of the Free Church in particular, and of the United Presbyterians, hold language marvellously similar to, if not identical with, that of Wesleyan Methodists, and of Evangelical Unionists, without incurring Church censure; and also that the ministers, and, still more, the members of these three denominations, gladly welcome, and greatly appreciate, the services of such distinguished Wesleyan preachers as the Rev. W. Morley Punshon and the Rev. Dr Arthur, who notoriously scout the distinctive peculiarities of Calvinism, and glory in preaching what are called Arminian doctrines. Again, the United Presbyterian Church has long contained at least one minister who has assailed the Confession of Faith,* and the cherished beliefs of Calvinistic Churches, in a style which would rather have alarmed the earnest and inquiring spirit of Mr Morison. By the way, disagreeing as I do with the teaching of both in several points, is it unfair or impertinent to ask, where was the eloquent, chivalrous George Gilfillan at the trial of James Morison?† He had been an ordained minister for six years in 1841. He combines great power of thought with equal powers of brilliant expression. Having escaped from the trammels of his denomination, by which many of his brethren are still firmly bound, he has of late years boldly avowed his admiration for the scholarly, cultivated, and devout leaders of religious thought in the Church of England—Dr Arnold, Dean Stanley, Dean Alford, Archdeacon Hare, Mr Robertson of Brighton, and Mr Maurice. But the year 1869 is far removed from 1841. Why, then, does he not attend his own Presby-

a sinner rejecting the Saviour are acceptable to God. Dr Morison regards Lord Kinloch's "Circle of Christian Doctrine" as containing "delightful common sense, true philosophy, and sound theology," and rejoices that his "Lordship is in a position which renders his prosecution, or persecution, for heresy an impossibility."

* See Note H, Appendix.

† Since I wrote these lines, I have learned that Mr Gilfillan was not present at the meeting of Synod in 1841. That year was very intolerant of minorities in Church Courts, as I shall show in the sequel by a reference to Mr Wright of Borthwick's case in the General Assembly, when Dr George Cook was threatened with a libel! In fact, the year 1841 was very destructive to the peace of Scottish Churches. The Episcopal Church was busied in ejecting Sir William Dunbar and the Rev. Mr Drummond; the United Secession Church and the Congregational Union were distracted by the Atonement controversy; and the Church of Scotland had crossed the Rubicon on the road to the Disruption.

tery and Synod, and speak out plainly, besides having his Sunday evening discourses reported in the "Dundee Advertiser" of the following morning, to be reproduced on Tuesday in the Edinburgh and Glasgow newspapers?*

After this review of ecclesiastical splits, it is time that we asked what, with all allowance for doctrinal aberrations, real or imagined, has been the great cause of secessions from the Church of Scotland? What has been driving so many of its members from its communion? I think the answer must be—PATRONAGE.† The late Dr M'Crie called Patronage "the iron saddle on the horse's back." When somebody had asserted that the Veto Act had muzzled the monster, he remarked that it had "muffled the monster and muzzled the people." It was this grievance which cast out Erskine in 1733, Gillespie in 1761, and the Non-Intrusionists in 1843. Mr Baird, of Cambusdoon, an elder in the Established Church, and assuredly no leveller in Church or State, lately spoke as follows:—"Patronage has been the bane of the Church since it was instituted—it has dissevered from our communion a great mass of our fellow-Presbyterians, and still prevents them from returning to us in Christian fellowship. Then why should there be any doubt or difficulty about its abolition? The evils of Patronage are not only those that we see arise from disputed settlements—disgusting and demoralising though these may be—there are far more deep-rooted and enduring evils that can only be seen by those who take a general and scrutinising survey of what the Church is doing over the length and breadth of the land." This gentleman was an esteemed cor-

* Some of Mr Gilfillan's recent utterances have been worthy of special attention. In the "Scotsman" of October 5th, 1869, he is reported to have addressed his congregation thus:—"And Dr Wallace, of Edinburgh, the leader of the small but strengthening party of Broad Churchmen in the Church of Scotland, coincides with his English brethren so far in this also—he opposes Voluntaryism, not in itself, but because he believes in a more comprehensive Established Church than the world has ever yet seen or is ever likely to see. And I may say here, that were such a scheme as Dr Wallace's at all practicable, I would myself prefer it or something like it even to the Voluntary plan." I honour Mr Gilfillan for his candour and manliness. Will he do his best to render a Broad Church scheme practicable? His discourses are widely circulated, and enlist the attention of tens of thousands who pay little heed to most clerical instructors.

† See Note I, Appendix.

respondent of the late Professor Robertson, of Edinburgh University, who in 1859, the year before his death, wrote to him thus :—"I can honestly say that for many years past it has been one of the first wishes of my heart to have our lamentable breaches healed, and so healed, moreover, as to include in the healing process the U. P. as well as the Established and Free Churches. . . . There can be no doubt, I think, that in Scotland, though not in England, Patronage is doomed, whether the Establishment shall be maintained or not. . . . I wish no triumph for the Established Church whatsoever, but an arrangement for getting quit of the stumbling-block of Patronage, which should leave all sections of the Presbyterian body in equal honour, and offer to all the possession of equal rights and privileges."* My space forbids me to discuss the various substitutes which have been proposed in its room.† There can be little doubt that unlimited popular election has, in isolated cases, produced as much strife in congregations as unlimited patronage, and that it has settled as objectionable ministers. That is admitted. But the grievance exists, and works great mischief, and a remedy must be found. If the members of the Church choose to entrust to Committees the duty of selecting suitable Probationers for vacant congregations, they will probably have no reason to rue their choice, the privileges of Church members being duly recognised. Akin to this subject, however, is it presumptuous in a layman to make some comments on the perfunctory way in which all Scottish Presbyteries perform their duties in the licensing of students? Loud complaints are coming from all quarters on this point. Young men are licensed, who are destitute of almost every qualification for their important functions. Congregations are compelled to listen to them. Does it not strike one as passing strange, that Probationers, after having attended a University for four years, and a Theological Hall for four years more, should be unable to sustain the attention of a common audience?‡ It is

* See Charteris' "Life of Dr Robertson," p. 35.

† See Note J, Appendix.

‡ A lady of my acquaintance, lately returned from the afternoon service in an Edinburgh church, complained in my hearing that she had not understood a word of the sermon, the preacher being a stranger who was afflicted with an impediment

not a sufficient answer to this charge that they possess piety and zeal. Piety ought to be the common property of the laity and the clergy, but the preacher ought, in addition, to possess gifts of another kind—he ought to be "apt to teach." Is it going too far to say that, if Presbyteries had exercised proper vigilance in licensing Students, Patrons, however reluctant to gratify the popular voice, would have been unable to find any presentee whose poverty of thought, clumsiness of diction, defects of utterance, ungainly action, and want of animation, unfitted him for any pulpit? Of this class of preachers a high living authority states, "Many men of good natural powers, good character, and good inclinations, spend their strength in efforts, which, like those of Sisyphus, simply exhaust, and never please or profit."* Another high living authority is even more searching and severe:—"But mere sermon-making, the pouring of the same water, Sunday after Sunday, into different receptacles, or transmitting the same commonplaces through different texts; the preaching which appeals to the lower, and never to the higher nature of men; the little disquisitions on truths of small relative importance; and the straining after useless novelties, as if the Bible was exhausted, and the Gospel, with all its fulness and manifold wisdom, had lost its power; the emptiness of exaggerated language about nothing, or the sleepy, weary talk, without feeling, or sympathy, or heart;—of what conceivable use is such preaching? How incomparably better would be the reading of the Scripture only, with some good commentary!"†

of speech. On a friend inquiring how the congregation behaved, she answered that many were smiling, while the rest were asleep.

* Life of the Rev. Dr Wardlaw, by the Rev. Dr W. L. Alexander, p. 24.

† See Dr Macleod's "Concluding Address to the General Assembly," pp. 13, 14. It is satisfactory to learn that Dr Macleod's criticisms are producing a salutary effect. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on November 24th, Dr Wallace said "he had long felt that the examinations by the committees were far too formal, and, now that the committee had taken the thing in hand earnestly, in the interests of the public he must support them. He was not in the slightest degree sorry for discouraging a number of weak-minded or ill-educated young men from coming forward to the Church. He believed that in the end it would be much better for such men themselves that they should turn back." Dr Smith said that "he brought forward the suggestion with the view, if possible, of convincing these men that they were not suited for the ministry, and that they should give up all hopes of prosecuting their studies for the Church. He thought that could best be done in the way he proposed, but he would not press the suggestion."

CHAPTER II.

United Presbyterian Synod—Character of its Proceedings—Established General Assembly—Free General Assembly—Sketches of the Chief Speakers—Dr Candlish, Dr Robert Buchanan, Dr Begg, Dr Gibson—Party Organization—Stormy Debates—Proposals of Union—Aspects of Voluntaryism—Civil Magistrate's Power in Religion—Opinions of Dr Brown, Dr Cairns, Dr Wardlaw, Dr W. L. Alexander, Dr Robert Buchanan, and Dr Hetherington—Voluntaries and Endowments—Present Practice Irreconcileable with Old Professions—Efforts of the Free Church—Its Dissensions—Expense of its Colleges—Sustentation Fund—Rev. Mr Purves quoted—Large Presents to Free Church Ministers—Free Church Colleges in Glasgow and Aberdeen.

LAST May and June, I enjoyed the opportunity of attending the meetings of the Supreme Courts of the three chief Presbyterian Churches, which I had scarcely entered since the Disruption of 1843.

First comes the United Presbyterian Synod, which I had not visited for nearly thirty years. Many familiar forms are missing. Dr John Brown, the learned inheritor of the Haddington Apostolical Succession, is no more conspicuous with his sweet, dignified, and beautiful countenance. Dr Heugh no longer flits from friend to friend, with a pleasant word and smile for each. Dr Beattie's bluff face and homely mother wit are gone. Dr John Ritchie's dogmatism and drollery belong to the past. The meetings are pervaded by great life, frankness, and cordiality. The Moderator wears a gown and bands—an innovation since the Secession era, and borrowed from the Relief Church. There are now paid secretaries, a treasurer and law adviser,* — also innovations which would

* Mr James Peddie, W.S., worthily holds this office, and I have no doubt that he has saved the Synod much trouble and expense. During the trial of Dr John Brown for unsound doctrine, in 1845, Mr Peddie very properly appealed to the practice of the Civil Courts as a precedent, adding, that "the judges are very unfond of deciding points in law until they find that the circumstances of the case render such a decision necessary." In 1865, when the Synod debated whether

have greatly displeased the old Seceders. The Moderator, then the Rev. Dr Bruce,* had considerable difficulty in maintaining silence and restraining vivacity. Not that the members are very unruly or contumacious. Quite the reverse. Yet the Synod would not be less attractive, if the members would listen more carefully to the speakers, and if two or three speakers did not start up and speak together. What strikes a stranger as somewhat odd is, that many men of very high reputation in the Church rarely open their mouths, and that the speaking is mostly engrossed by minor celebrities, who appear on the scene every year. One or two of them speak on every subject, and even keep the Moderator in order! If they were to be allowed to speak only every fifth year, what outlet would they have for their redundant rhetoric? A third novelty is, that several members read their speeches, even short ones, slavishly. No blame is intended in this remark; still memory reverts to the time, not very remote, when it would not have been tolerated. Both ministers and elders are becoming alarmed at the grow-

it ought to pay the Annuity Tax for its Mission House and Hall, and when several members demanded open discussion, their law adviser quietly reminded them that legal consultations are, for very good reasons, best held in private. Such was the commotion on the part of the strangers, and such were the outbursts of cheering and hissing, that Dr James Taylor threatened to clear the Court. The Annuity Tax question renders the people of Edinburgh periodically delirious. Reputations have been gained and lost by it; statesmen, lawyers, magistrates, ministers, and editors have failed to settle it. In Glasgow neither Churchmen nor Dissenters can be brought to take any interest in the Metropolitan bone of strife. When the Synod resolved to appoint mission secretaries with adequate salaries, there was considerable grumbling in the provinces because the Voluntary principle was supposed to be violated! What Voluntaryism really means it would be hard to say; its own prophets are at open variance, as I shall fully prove.

* Grand-nephew of the Rev. Professor Bruce, of Whitburn, formerly mentioned. The United Presbyterian Synod is pre-eminently a Clerical Assembly. Dr John Macfarlane, in his "Martyrs of the Manse," states that fully one-tenth of the ministry are sons of the ministers. If we add to these the additional number of those who are the kinsmen or the relatives of ministers, we shall find that a very large number of the ministers have clerical connections; hence the strong bond of attachment prevalent in the "body," as it is commonly termed by its adherents. Dr Duncan, of Mid-Calder, one of their professors, had six sons—all ministers. It is hard to comprehend on what principle Moderators are chosen in this Church. While some men have filled the chair who are quite obscure, others have been passed by who, by their age, learning, worth, and eminent services, have amply merited the honour. I am told that a certain divine in the West is the Moderator-maker, although he himself has not held the office.

ing disposition of the audience to cheer or hiss, as occasion may demand. I have heard loud complaints on this head. One minister, who is second to none in argumentative ability and moral integrity, was treated with such rudeness, some years ago, when he criticised the Union proposals somewhat unfavourably, that he has ceased to attend the Synod altogether.* While Dr W. Marshall, Dr W. Johnston, Dr G. Jeffrey, Dr James Taylor, and the Rev. Henry Renton† seem to be authoritative speakers, the Rev. Mr Hutton of Paisley displays striking ability and readiness in debate. When confusion reigns supreme, the stentorian voice of the watchful Rev. Mr Bell of Newcastle rises, clear and loud, above the clamour, the unruly elements are hushed, and order is restored. What a formidable Moderator Mr Bell himself would prove! How sorry jesters and irrelevant declaimers would wince under his official authority! The grand feature of the Synod's proceedings is the immense audience gathered in the Music Hall, on Wednesday night, to listen to addresses on Missions to the heathen, reminding a spectator of the May meetings in Exeter Hall.

Next comes the General Assembly of the Established Church. May I be allowed to express my strong dislike of the military pomp by which it is heralded, and to cherish a hope that it will soon vanish from the Church of the Future? A glance at the Assembly tells of the ravages of death. On the Non-Intrusion side, Chalmers is gone, and Welsh, and Gordon, and Grey, and Duncan, and Macfarlane, and Cunningham. On the Moderate side one looks in vain for Dr George Cook, Mr Robertson of Ellon,

* Dr Gibson made a similar statement some time ago in one of the Free Church Courts, when its truth was questioned. Possibly I know more of the facts than Dr Gibson or his opponents. The name of the distinguished absentee is well known, and to my certain knowledge his sentiments are shared by other ministers of high standing, but who have no liking for confronting a hostile majority organised by the Moderator-Maker, and backed by a promiscuous audience, which may belong to no Church at all.

† Surely Mr Renton has refused the degree of D.D. His bright promise of scholarship when he was a class-fellow of John Brown Patterson in the Edinburgh High School, under Pillans, his distinction as a graduate of Glasgow University, and his eminence as a Border minister, mark him as no common man. The late Professor Robertson refused a degree for years. Mr Binney has also declined it resolutely, like the late Mr Angel James of Birmingham.

Dr John Lee, Dr Paul, of Tullynessle, Dr Bryce, and Dr Dewar. Dr Pirie is almost the only prominent speaker whom one remembers in the Old Assembly. He was then Mr Pirie of Dyce. Dr John Cook, the Clerk, perpetuates the name and face of his father, Dr George; and Mr Lee, the new Procurator, revives the recollection of the spare figure of his venerable father the Principal, once a Burgher Student of Divinity at Selkirk under Dr George Lawson. Dr Simpson, his colleague in the clerkship, also an old Burgher Student, has disappeared from the scene. How appropriate are the words of lines quoted by Dr Duff, in the Free General Assembly of 1852!

> "The flowers o' the forest aye fought the foremost,
> The prime of our land are now laid in the grave;
> There's sighing and moaning in ilka green loaning;
> The flowers o' the forest are a' wede away."

Dr Norman Macleod, of Glasgow, was elected Moderator—an honour amply merited by his catholic spirit, glowing eloquence, and unwearied labours—above all, by the immense services he has rendered to the Church. Principal Tulloch, an elegant writer and speaker, was absent from sickness. The blank was filled by many worthy colleagues—Dr Macduff, Dr Charteris, Dr Wallace, Dr Craik, Dr Pirie, Dr Barty, and the Rev. F. L. Robertson. I confess to having been agreeably surprised by the striking ability, animation, and interest of many speeches and discussions. Laymen as well as ministers, whose names were new to me, delivered their sentiments with remarkable readiness, force, and effect.* Notes were used very sparingly. The laymen were Sir Robert Anstruther, M.P., Lord Polwarth, Mr Swinton, Sheriff Barclay, and Mr David Smith, W.S. A stranger must have been impressed, not only with the resources of the debaters, but with the practical tone of the arguments, and the patient hearing

* Much of the vigour and activity now manifested in the Church of Scotland is attributable to the intelligence and zeal of laymen. This element was conspicuous in the Assemblies before the Disruption, when judges, sheriffs, and landed proprietors took a prominent part in the proceedings, and were always able to repress clerical dictation. Laymen rarely speak in the United Presbyterian Synod, and in the Free Church Assembly they are far less influential now than they were in the Assemblies immediately after the Disruption.

accorded even to speakers whose convictions must have clashed sorely with those of many of the brethren.

Crossing the street, I make for the Free Church Assembly—free to all who are willing to pay for admission. In the United Presbyterian Synod all parts of the hall are open to the public except the members' area; in the Established Assembly, the public are admitted to the gallery; in the Free Assembly, which is more spacious than the other two put together, money is taken for entrance to any part; even the ministers, who are not members, must pay for their seats. Is this wise or proper? Sir Henry Moncreiff, the Moderator, in taking the chair, delivered an elaborate and ponderous address. In scanning the members and the places occupied by them, there is visible proof of party organization. On the right of the Moderator, in the front seat, are seen the promoters of the Union—Dr Candlish,* Dr Robert Buchanan,† Dr Rainy, and others. On the left are ranged

* Dr Candlish's career has been rather a singular one. Born in Kilbarchan, the son of a medical practitioner, and educated in Glasgow University, where he won high distinction, he was duly licensed to preach. After spending several years as assistant minister in St Andrew's Church, Glasgow, and in Bonhill, Dumbartonshire, with little acceptance, he is said to have become an unsuccessful candidate for an obscure chapel in the Old Town of Edinburgh, and to have contemplated emigrating to America, when the discerning eye of the late Lord Moncreiff perceived his undeveloped talents, and procured for him the presentation to St George's Church. Since that date, thirty-five years ago, his history has been closely mingled with that of his country. The key to his great influence is found in his logical subtlety, tending to casuistry, and in his vehement emotion, which he transfuses into the minds of his audience. Perhaps he is the only minister of our times who signally possesses three gifts seldom combined—he unites great argumentative power and fervour in the pulpit, equal cogency of reasoning and declamation on the platform, and much dexterity in conducting the business of Ecclesiastical Courts. His capacity of physical endurance was also remarkable in the stormy era before and after the Disruption, and I cannot remember his having ever pleaded want of preparation. His oratory has sometimes reminded me of that of the late Richard Lalor Shiel, M.P. Like Mr Shiel, and most men of genius, he has always been a great admirer of Shakspeare. Dr Candlish has been chargeable with several indiscretions, such as his gratuitous attack on the Balmoral Cairn, and other graver offences, but they are mostly attributable to his advisers, while his merits are his own. His constitutional irritability, the effect of an overworked brain, has laid him open to the accusations of instability in his Church policy.

† Dr Robert Buchanan is a native of St Ninians, Stirlingshire, and the son of a brewer. Since 1829, he has been successively minister of Gargunnock, Saltoun, and of three churches in Glasgow. As a preacher, he has always held a subordi---te position. His strength lies in conducting the business of Church Courts,

Dr Begg,‡ Dr Wood, Dr Horatius Bonar, Dr Forbes, Mr Nixon, and Dr Gibson,§ the last of whom is prepared singly to do battle for which he is eminently fitted by his patience, suavity, plausibility, self-command, and apparent desire to conciliate opponents. Before the Disruption, he was generally appointed to accompany deputations to London, to confer with statesmen respecting the claims of the Non-Intrusionists, and these interviews he has adroitly chronicled in his "Ten Years' Conflict." Since the Disruption, he has been the counsellor of the Free Church. At meetings of Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, including innumerable meetings of committees and sub-committees, he is a punctual attender, except, perhaps, when absence has been more convenient. He excels in politico-ecclesiastical subjects, to which he has devoted much study, and his memory is very tenacious. Abstruse principles in theology are beyond his grasp; but he is a ruler of men far superior to himself; hence his great power in the Free Church. Somehow, he has long had the reputation of being a politic man, addicted to manœuvres, and of not being placable in his calm but persistent resentments. There is no doubt that in his latter years he has been partly the dupe of satellites, who, to please him, have been planting churches which were quite superfluous in close proximity to Established and United Presbyterian places of worship. While Dr Candlish has proclaimed his impatience to retire from Church Courts, Dr Robert Buchanan sticks to them as essential to his existence.

‡ Dr Begg's father was minister of the parish of New Monkland. Dr Begg commenced his pastoral life as assistant to Dr Jones of Lady Glenorchy's, in this city; thence he was translated successively to Paisley, Maxwelton, and Liberton, where he enlisted as a lieutenant of Dr Chalmers. After the Disruption, he removed to Newington, and for several years took a prominent part in social and political movements, even accompanying Mr M'Laren, M.P., over Scotland, and advocating the Forty-Shilling Franchise. He must be a man of redundant physical energy, for besides ministering regularly to a large congregation, he has devoted strenuous efforts to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual elevation of the poorer classes, by whom he is much esteemed; hence a block of workmen's houses has been named "Dr Begg's Buildings." On the platform, he is an interesting, animated, and sometimes amusing speaker, relating anecdotes with much effect, and sustaining the attention of his audience. Latterly he has vigilantly watched and exposed the inroads of Popery, and has since 1866 set his face against the present Union movement. He left in the Establishment a father, a brother, and a sister's husband; his family is sprung from the old Cameronian stock; hence, perhaps, his love for old ecclesiastical usages. Politically, he might be set down as a democrat. After Dr Chalmers' death, he would appear not to have worked harmoniously with the Free Church leaders. Amid all the vicissitudes of an active life, he has always been a popular and effective preacher.

§ Dr Gibson is a native of Crieff, in Perthshire, and is, I have heard, sprung from a Relief family, though he was never a member of the Relief Church. He spent a long time on the Continent as tutor to a gentleman's son, and is uncommonly proficient in the Continental languages. After acting as assistant in the College Church, Glasgow, he became minister of Kingston Church, on the south side, and subsequently a professor in the Free Church College, and an elder in the Free College Church, which he left, owing to College disputes. He excels in a knowledge of polemical theology, of ecclesiastical history, and of Church Court procedure: hence his frequent collisions with Dr Robert Buchanan.

against all incipient heresy, suspicious innovations, and rash Unionists. The crowded attendance of visitors testifies to their interest in the question at issue, and to their admiration of the speakers. Dr Candlish's powers of subtle argument, and impassioned appeal, which shone so splendidly in the old Tron Church in the Ante-Disruption days, are now diminished by physical decay, though the old fire still bursts forth. Dr Robert Buchanan is a striking example of an elderly and laborious man, whose bodily and mental vigour remains unimpaired; his evenness of temper is still imperturbable; his calm, measured delivery, and his articulate, silvery accents still reach the most distant corners of the Hall.* Dr Begg's fluency, self-possession, racy humour, and apposite illustration, set off by his massive head and broad chest, enable him to hold his ground against a hostile audience, and to parry thrusts like an expert swordsman. Dr Gibson, thoroughly convinced of the justice of his cause, and of his competency to defend it, is prepared to argue as often and long as occasion may require. As an author, minister, and professor, the Doctor has been a life-long polemic. As Editor of the "Church of Scotland Magazine," and contributor to the decidedly Tory "Scottish Guardian" newspaper, in concert with Dr Robert Buchanan and Dr J. G. Lorimer, he smote many a Whig and many a Voluntary beneath the fifth rib.† His trusty weapon was next used against the Moderates. Now, even in the sunset of life, when most men sigh for peace, and repose, and tranquillity, and meditation, he is in the keenest of the fight, confronting a phalanx formidable

* Dr James Macfarlane speaks of Dr Robert Buchanan's "well-poised cadences and monotonous tones." The fact is, Dr Buchanan, though rather stilted and artificial, is really a very correct, articulate, and intelligible speaker. A critic in a London journal lately alluded to Mr Gladstone's "ineradicable Lancashire twang." This seems hypercritical. Mr Gladstone is almost perfect in his elocution. Macaulay and Disraeli had always more of the London accent. Lancashire has long boasted of producing the three finest speakers in England—the late Earl of Derby, Mr W. E. Gladstone, and Mr John Bright.

† During the Voluntary controversy, the "Guardian" was commonly said to be edited by "John, James, and Robert," the Christian names of John Gordon Lorimer, James Gibson, and Robert Buchanan. "The Romans fought like brothers in the brave days of old," as the Lay of Horatius has it. The "Guardian," like many other religious newspapers, became defunct several years ago. When proposals were made to amalgamate it with the "Witness," Hugh Miller met them with a peremptory refusal.

in numbers, in firmness of purpose, and in strength of organization. Far be it from me to speak lightly of Dr Gibson. A more honest man does not tread the floor of the Assembly; he disdains to give "caviare to the general;" he has never been known to betray a friend, or to take mean advantage of an opponent; he is a trusty ally and a manly foe. In the arts of diplomacy he is quite a novice; intrigue and evasion excite his utmost disgust. Will any think the less kindly of him, that common attachment to what was deemed vital truth rendered him the warmly attached friend of Dr Marshall, formerly his redoubted antagonist as Editor of the "Voluntary Magazine," visiting him on his deathbed,* and preaching the funeral sermon of his son, the Rev. William Marshall of Leith?

The most unfavourable feature in the proceedings of the Free Assembly is, that in exciting debates the members belonging to the minority are scarcely allowed free speech, and that the audience, by their volleys of approbation or explosions

* A generation is growing up which is well-nigh ignorant of Dr Andrew Marshall of Kirkintilloch, the ablest and most dauntless champion of Scottish Voluntaryism. After the refusal of a majority of the United Secession Synod to convict Dr John Brown of unsound doctrine in 1845, he retained his position in the Church till 1847, when he left it on account of his objecting to the articles of union with the Relief Church. A litigation was raised in the Court of Session to eject him from his place of worship, but it failed. He made overtures to the Free Church, which objected to his Voluntaryism. Similar objections barred his admission into the Old Light Anti-Burgher Synod, and he took up an isolated position till his death in 1854. His son, the Rev. William Marshall, of Leith, who had sympathised with his father's views, joined the Old Light Anti-Burghers, and along with them entered the Free Church in 1852. He died about 1857, and was succeeded by the Rev. Stuart Muir from Montreal. The Rev. Mr Spence, of the United Secession Church, Dundee, followed the example of Dr Marshall, to whose niece he was married, and he is now the Rev. Dr Spence, of the Free Church, Kilbirnie, Ayrshire. Dr Marshall's family, after worshipping for several years in the Free Church, has returned to the Establishment. It is a curious fact that, shortly after the Disruption, three advanced Voluntary ministers of the United Secession and two of the Relief Church also joined the National Church. Dr Andrew Marshall was a stern Calvinist. While Voluntary writers extol with justice his Voluntary championship, they are less lavish in their recognition of what he deemed of infinitely higher moment—the inviolable interests of sacred truth. I am not aware that he modified his Voluntary theory, but it was almost sunk in his later teaching. This might be explained by the infirmity of age, and by other causes. Mr Mitchell Harvey's church in South College Street, Edinburgh, was the scene of his argumentative and arousing Voluntary orations, most of which I heard. Mr Harvey, a Relief minister, of the Calton, Glasgow, occasionally followed in the same strain.

of impatience, destroy the judicial character of the tribunal.* Of course, there are exceptions, though they are few. Even Dr Begg, a practised debater, with accurate knowledge of forms, and perfect command of himself, as well as of the sympathies of a promiscuous audience, has been constrained to complain of interruptions from Students of Divinity and other listeners. Yet Sir Henry Moncreiff is an imperious Moderator, a high authority in Presbyterian law and administration. The "Presbyterian"—a monthly periodical recently started by the Unionist party, to counteract the influence of Dr Begg's "Watchword," and edited by Dr Rainy, a Professor in the Free Theological College, and lieutenant to Dr Candlish in the Free Church Ecclesiastical Courts,—claims credit for the patience with which the Rev. Mr Nixon was heard in his answer to Principal Fairbairn. Now, Mr Nixon is no ordinary man. Only a year ago he was Moderator. I quote the exact words of the "Presbyterian." "Mr Nixon alone spoke for three long hours; and, as we are sure that even his own friends will affirm, not that he threw any fresh light on the subject, the majority of the House ought to get some credit for the wonderful patience with which they listened to him to the very end."†

In the Established Assembly, and in the United Presbyterian Synod, there are no Church leaders, and regular party divisions are almost unknown. In the Free Assembly, the contrast is very conspicuous, not to say painful. After the Disruption, Dr Chalmers was enabled to congratulate the first Free Assembly at the close of its proceedings that it had been engaged, not in debates, but in deliberation; and Dr Candlish uttered a fervent hope that peace and concord might so pervade their future deliberations, that divisions and votes might be unknown,—a fond delusion to any one who remembers the strife between Paul and Barnabas in the Apostolic Church; between Luther and Zwingle in the German Reformation; between Calvin

* Nobody possessing common discretion can approve of ladies, both young and old, remaining long after midnight, and exciting themselves so violently, waving handkerchiefs, hissing, and stamping with their feet or umbrellas. Dr Chalmers had a rooted aversion to such "stars, pressure, and animal heat." On an Anti-Unionist minister rising to speak, a lady, who asked his name, was heard to say, "We must hiss, and put him down."

† "Presbyterian," July, 1869, p. 76. See Note K, Appendix.

and Melancthon, in Geneva; between Whitfield and Wesley in the Methodist movement; between Erskine and Moncrieff in the Scottish Secession. No blame is sought to be fastened on either party; yet the outbursts of alienation, distrust, and hostility cannot but tend to bring Presbyters into disfavour with Non-Presbyterian Churches.

I entertain a reasonable expectation, that hitherto my statements of facts, and my comments suggested by them, will have been accepted as fair and admissible. I am now to tread delicate ground, every inch of which bristles with thorns and briers. I cannot hope to secure the assent of clerical leaders in any of the large Dissenting Presbyterian Churches, since they are too far committed to a policy; but I appeal to the Presbyterian laymen to ponder the sequel. Science descends from lofty intellects to humbler minds; but all great moral and spiritual truths are first welcomed and propagated by the common people.*

During the last six years, there has been a proposal for a Union between the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church.† Three courses present themselves for adoption. The Churches may remain as they are; or the Union proposed may be consummated; or steps may be taken to accomplish a larger Union on a wider and more liberal basis. With regard to the first course, much might be advanced in its favour. Time would be afforded for inquiry and reflection. The second course is eagerly recommended by the Joint-Committees, which, after a long session, have issued their programme. The third course is that which I hope to be able to demonstrate as most desirable, and as not impracticable.

The present agitation for Union has been mainly clerical; some elders have been associated with it, but the immense majority of the laity regard it with indifference or disfavour. That such a want of cordiality should exist may be lamented; yet such is the fact.‡

* See "Froude's Short Essays on Great Subjects."

† To the proposals of Union forwarded in 1863 to the Synod of United Original Seceders, containing thirty-six congregations, the Rev. George Roger, their clerk, returned a decisive refusal.

‡ Shortly after the Union had been mooted, a meeting in favour of it was held

Without accepting the accuracy of the assertion that the prime movers of the Union have been actuated solely by sectarian or political considerations, it is not incredible that they long to place the Establishment in a decided minority, and to hasten her downfall. Others, however, who cannot be suspected of any sinister intentions, sigh after Union as a Christian duty, and are prompted by a wish to hasten the extension of truth and righteousness. Some Non-Presbyterian Churches frown on the Union; but with them I have no controversy.

Let us now survey the present position of the two larger Churches proposed to be united.

The United Presbyterian Church, with all its strength, expansiveness, and enlightenment, is avowedly not the Church of the Erskines. It may have improved or degenerated, but the fact remains. The Erskines forsook the Church of their fathers, on account of the abuse of patronage and the laxity of discipline; but they never objected to the principle of an Establishment, nor to the endowment of ministers. That was reserved for a later era. If the Erskines and the early Seceders were now living, they would be either aiding the majority of the Established General Assembly to procure the abolition of patronage, or coalescing with the Old Light Seceders in a forlorn hope to accomplish a Cove-

in the Trades' Hall, Glasgow, at which the Rev. Dr Eadie and the Rev. Mr Traill, now of Elgin, attended, and delivered excellent speeches. If I remember rightly, Dr Robert Buchanan sent a letter to explain that he declined to attend, because negotiations ought to be conducted in Church Courts. As far as I can learn the sentiments of Non-Endowed Scottish Presbyterians, they may be stated thus:—Of the Free Church ministers, a majority are more or less in favour of Union, while a minority are strongly opposed to it. Of the laity, members are generally indifferent, while a minority are unfriendly; very many members of the United Presbyterian Church express their decided hostility, based on the clerical domination of the Free Church leaders, and their opposition to desirable reform; a minority, influenced by the prominent ministers in the Union Committee, look upon the movement with favour. Such is my individual opinion, but others can judge for themselves. Influential office-bearers have told me that, sooner than consent to the present Union, they will betake themselves to the Establishment. In the last United Presbyterian Synod, I heard the Rev. Mr Bell, of Newcastle, read a long speech, vehemently condemning the Union, because United Presbyterian ministers south of the Tweed are to be excluded. Pointed reference was made to Dr Cairns, who seemed somewhat embarrassed in his explanation. A witty friend of mine remarks that, on this question, the Doctor discovers occult relations between persons who really differ, and this was discernible in his correspondence with the Rev. Dr P. Davidson.

nanted Reformation. In either case, I fear, they would probably excommunicate the whole United Presbyterian Church. We cannot determine the precise time when Voluntary principles were adopted as the creed of the Secession Church. They were partially entertained before the end of last century, but they became more prominent in 1832. They are now professed by nearly all the present ministers in a more or less modified sense. Dr Robert Jeffrey, of Glasgow, pithily affirmed, on a recent occasion, that those who denied them could be held in a cab. Yet it is equally true that Voluntaryism is differently interpreted by very acute exponents within its pale, and that the belief in it is not involved in Church membership. Let us see how it dawned in the minds of two deservedly high authorities in Dr Jeffrey's own Church. Dr M'Kerrow, the historian of the Church, candidly avers,—"Any opinions which I held during the earlier part of my ministry, concerning it, though probably not very decided either way, inclined rather in favour of Establishments than against them."* Be it remembered that the esteemed author was ordained in 1813, and lived to see his jubilee in 1863. Let us turn to Dr John Brown, the illustrious Theological Professor of the same Church. Dr Cairns, his pupil and biographer, observes: "Probably his opinions, as a Voluntary, were slowly matured during his Edinburgh ministry."† Now, Dr Brown was ordained at Biggar in 1806, was translated to Rose Street, Edinburgh, in 1822, thence to Broughton Place in 1829, witnessed his jubilee in 1854, and died in 1858. In 1818, he preached a Synod Sermon from the text, Joshua xiii. 1, "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," which was published under the title, "On the State of Scotland in reference to the Means of Religious Instruction." I recollect that the late Dr Welsh, at a Church Extension Meeting in the Assembly Rooms,‡ quoted from this sermon to prove that Dr Brown then held it to be the duty of the State to plant Churches in necessitous districts. I have been much struck with the following comment of Dr W. L. Alexander on the sudden and general change in the expression of sentiments on

* See "History of the Secession Church," p. 766. † See Life, by Dr Cairns, p. 174.
‡ About 1836.

this question:—"Congregationalists, when the light broke in with such sudden corruscations on other Non-Established bodies, were somewhat slow to admit that the part of it which they had not hitherto received was genuine and trustworthy." This is somewhat severe, but not altogether undeserved.

Let us go back for twenty-five years, and see what were the peculiarities of that Church, as distinguished from others—peculiarities then supposed to be almost inherent in its constitution. To begin with the ministers: The use of manuscripts in the pulpit was almost unknown and was sternly proscribed. A probationer making the attempt would never have received a call, or rather, he would have been summoned before the Presbytery of the bounds; while an ordained minister so offending could never have kept his congregation. After the union of the Secession and Relief Churches, a relaxation of the rule was conceded to certain eminent ministers on the score of loss of memory, but none were to read their discourses without the sanction of their Presbytery. The prohibition was soon disregarded, and sermons are now read as commonly as in other Churches, with equal advantage to preacher and hearer. In 1839, a student of Theology, in his eighteenth year, was required to deliver an exegetical discourse in the United Secession Hall, before Dr John Brown and the students. Laymen may need to be told that an exegesis usually bristles with quotations from the Greek Testament commentators. The student made use of his manuscript, when Dr Brown stopped him abruptly, and observed, with great emphasis, that he hoped the day would never come when ministers would be allowed to read sermons in the Secession Church. The student was under the necessity of learning by heart, and redelivering his exegesis on another day.* The venerable Doctor's turn came next. Not long after, his health and memory failed

* In 1863 Dr Begg introduced into the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh an overture censuring the use of manuscript in the pulpit. In supporting his overture, he remarked that his father, Dr Begg, of New Monkland, who "was a popular preacher, and always attracted a large congregation," used no notes. Being absent one Sunday, a "paper lad" supplied his place, and, on his return, he received from a hearer the following poem, which his son, Dr Begg, read in the Presbytery:—

He dipped the Bible in the dark,
Thocht nane would see;

him, and he read his sermons, closely and effectively, to the end of his life. In the rare "Remains"* of a young minister of great gifts and graces, the Rev. Alexander Nisbet, of Portsburgh United Secession, there is an excellent and affecting Memoir by the Rev. Dr Taylor of Busby.† Mr Nisbet, while a probationer, writes:—"I have never yet been able to learn a discourse in less than three days: the labour of mandating grinds me down to the very dust." This saintly young man died in 1831, in the twenty-sixth year of his age and the tenth month of his ministry,—so that the tardy dispensation came too late for him.

Not only was lay preaching interdicted, but even students of Theology were not allowed to exercise their gifts. A minister, who died in Glasgow not ten years ago,‡ had preached on a

Awa' wi' siccan smuggled wark,
It's no for me—(much laughter.)
And thinking he wad no be seen,
Did something in the Bible preen;
But ah! there were owre mony een
On him that glanced,
And ca'ed it weak and unco mean,
What he advanced—(renewed laughter.)
I never likèd sermon-readin',
It's but a dry and sapless feedin',
Sae tell yon chiel for to be heedin';
If he come back,
His sermons dress in ither cleedin'
Than white and black.

* See "Remains of the late Alexander Nisbet." Oliphant & Son, Edinburgh, 1835. Alexander Nisbet was the John Brown Patterson of his Church: his Essay on the "Magi of Gospel History," written when a student, displays extraordinary ability and research. Unluckily, the book is now out of print.

† Formerly minister in Auchtermuchty, and subsequently Professor of Theology in Toronto. Dr John Taylor was one of the foremost Voluntaries in Fifeshire, and as he argued the question on high religious and philosophical grounds, his services were in great request by the Voluntaries in the university town of St Andrews, where alone in Fifeshire the Establishment was very strong. He grappled with Bishop Warburton, Archdeacon Paley, and other high authorities. The Professors expressed their regret that a man who displayed such logical discrimination should not exercise it on what they believed to be the right side. He is sometimes confounded with Dr James Taylor, formerly of St Andrews, and now minister of Renfield Street Church, Glasgow. Dr John advocates the necessity of Presbyteries restricting themselves to their proper work, and shunning politics. Dr James acts on the contrary opinion.

‡ The late Rev. Mr Burgess, of Eglinton United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.

Sunday evening, in Yorkshire, on the eve of receiving license. He was cited to Edinburgh, and rebuked by the Synod. Students are now allowed to preach, and the change is beneficial. Simultaneous communion was unknown; its use has been so acceptable to the communicants that the old tables will never be restored. Close communion was once the pride and the practice of the Secession Church, and free communion was deemed a reproach of the Relief. In the United Church, the practice of the Relief has fortunately triumphed. It would be easy to multiply instances of usages which bred strife. A repeating tune, or a paraphrase, or a choir, or a pulpit gown, would have acted like a torch cast into a gunpowder magazine. A church spire would have excited grave suspicion; an anthem would have savoured of black Prelacy. Until very recently, a Secession Church was supposed to be all the stronger if it were encumbered with a heavy debt—the more substantial members having subscribed the bonds. This error is now quite exploded. Prior to 1833, the larger portion of the Synod's time was occupied in hearing competing calls—that is, in hearing and deciding cases in which probationers had received calls from rival congregations, or in which a minister had been offered a translation from his own congregation to another. In these pleadings the wishes and interests of the preacher were deemed to be inferior to the mind of the congregation and of the Synod; and decisions were sometimes pronounced utterly at variance with the earnest entreaties of the candidates, whose services had found favour with the competing flocks. Such decisions are now unknown;* and I might not have touched on them, if many ministers, including, I have heard, the late judicious and amiable Dr Mitchell,† a Professor in the denomi-

* The prime mover of the salutary change was the late Rev. John Richardson, of Freuchie, Fifeshire, who had been forbidden by the Burgher Synod to accept a translation to Gateshead, near Dunfermline; a translation rendered desirable by the larger stipend of Gateshead, and by the demands of an increasing family, while the sphere of usefulness was also larger. But the Burgher Synod was deaf to such considerations, and Mr Richardson lived and died in Freuchie.

† Dr Mitchell of Glasgow was a fine specimen of a Christian gentleman—a kind of minister much to be desired. How bland, unsuspicious, and affable in his demeanour! How anxious to discover merit in everybody, and how willing to overlook faults! At his jubilee, Dr Wardlaw wrote to Dr Heugh—"What an *even thread* that excellent man and minister has been enabled to spin! What an hon-

nation, had not opposed the change as incompatible with the genius of the Presbyterian system of church government. Other Presbyterian bodies might even now copy the example of the United Presbyterian Church in this respect. Why ought the preacher not to be allowed to make his choice, without hearing commissioners or co-presbyters at all? Within the last eighteen months, I heard the Free Presbytery decide, by a large majority, that the Rev. J. H. Wilson, of the Barclay Church, should be translated to Dr Hamilton's Church in London, though Mr Wilson had declared his earnest wish to remain in Edinburgh with his affectionate congregation. Such was the sympathy felt for him, and so strong were the remonstrances of influential correspondents in the newspapers, that the Presbytery yielded afterwards to the dictates of common sense and right feeling.

Let no one fancy that these remarks are made in a sneering spirit. As the late Professor Playfair said, "We are really older than our fathers," and we ought to be wiser; our experience is larger; and we have learned one lesson which we should duly prize—to distinguish between things essential and things non-essential in ecclesiastical arrangement, as well as to pay more heed to the rights and feelings of our brethren. The utmost caution must be used in treating of that principle so loosely entertained, so ambiguously expressed, so variously applied,—the principle of the Civil Magistrate's jurisdiction in religion. It would be unfair to rake up Voluntary speeches and pamphlets, propounding extreme and dangerous notions. That man who has thought, read, meditated, and discoursed much, must congratulate himself as thrice happy and enviable, if he has not fluctuated in any article of his creed or practice.* Candour, stretched to the utmost, forbids the conclusion that cer-

ourable, consistent character he has maintained! What an active and useful ministerial career he has pursued! Has he an enemy? has he ever had an enemy?"

* I may state, in passing, that I see no unfairness in referring to the recorded opinions of a public man, unless he has publicly disavowed them. A few years ago, when Dr Norman Macleod was on the eve of starting for Palestine, Dr Candlish taunted him with an anonymous article which the Barony pastor had contributed to "M'Phail's Magazine" shortly after the Disruption. Following this high example, I shall cite a few of Dr Candlish's own speeches and acts in connection with ecclesiastical and political questions.

tain prominent members of the Union Committee have not changed their mind on what they formerly thought weighty questions. If they have changed, why not avow it frankly? But as they deny any change, is it not likely that they are misled by the ambiguity of convenient terms, and by a resolve that love's labour should not be lost? The Voluntary controversy raised two knotty questions—the propriety of State endowments of the Church, and the limits of the State's interference in religion. Although they are indissoluble, the first concentrated the chief attention; the second, as raising profound political discussions, and lying at the roots of civil government, was feebly grasped. Hence those who were unanimous in their repudiation of State endowments, widely diverged when they began to speculate on the extent to which the Legislature was entitled to enact good laws, and the Magistrate, as its executive official, to enforce them. A law might be sound, wholesome, and indispensable to the very existence of a well-ordered State, but did not the extreme Voluntary theory hamper the Magistrate in his action? The law might be binding on Christians whose standard was the Holy Scriptures; but was a Magistrate, holding the Voluntary theory, justified in compelling the submission of men who rejected revelation altogether? English Voluntaries have commonly been more uncompromising assertors of their principle than their Scottish coadjutors, whose Presbyterian fetters are alleged to hamper their action, and who have shrunk from conclusions repulsive to their Christian feelings and convictions.* Disdaining, as I do, to argue the question of Voluntaryism in

* More than twenty years ago, I met a distinguished English Baptist minister, who was a prominent and candid Voluntary. On my asking him how he could enforce or justify many of our wholesome laws on the extreme Voluntary theory then proclaimed against the Civil Magistrate's authority in matters of religion, he answered—"Well, that has sometimes staggered me, and I am glad that our Statute-Book was composed before the commencement of the Voluntary agitation." To any one who objects that the Magistrate can enforce morals apart from religion, I reply, that pure morality is based on sound theology, which is found in the Bible alone. If he rejoin that the Bible is differently interpreted, I ask him to name any criterion of morals which is not liable to the same objection—Butler's fitness of things, Hutcheson's moral sense, Smith's sympathy, Paley's expediency, Bentham's utility, Combe's phrenology, Compte's positivism, or Holyoake's secularism.—(See Wardlaw's "Christian Ethics.")

relation to State endowments bestowed on any particular Church, I entreat every candid reader to ascend with me to higher ground. Consider the institution and observance of the Sabbath—a day which is now more than ever essential to the bodily rest, as well as to the spiritual refreshment, of the toiling millions, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. Such was the importance attached to the Sabbath by Proudhon, one of the most notorious Socialists in the last French Revolution, that, despite his professed Pantheism or Atheism, he avowed his belief that the institution of the Sabbath almost proved the existence of a God and the truth of a Revelation. Let us now see what opinions were entertained and published on the observance of this day by two deservedly distinguished exponents of the Voluntary principle. Both were men of deep piety, of profound erudition, of clear intellect, and of great moral weight. I allude to the Rev. Dr Brown, and the Rev. Dr Wardlaw. It is frankly admitted that both of these divines firmly held the institution and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath, and that they utterly abhorred the desecration of its rites. But they lived in the midst of the Voluntary controversy, when the fierce agitation of political and religious questions was certainly unfavourable to calm inquiry, to mature reflection, or to logical conclusions. Now, mark the consequences. Dr Brown "professed his belief in the competency of the civil magistrate to enact and enforce the observance of the Lord's-day as a day of secular rest, in compliance with the general will of the community." *

* I can never think of Dr John Brown without honour and reverence. I lately met an aged and worthy man, an adherent of the Established Church, whose parents were members of Dr Brown's congregation in Biggar. He recounted with evident delight "Maister Broon's" abundant labours in preaching, in Sabbath-school teaching, and in founding missionary societies, and then wound up with saying, "He was sic a braw man." He told me an anecdote which is worth recording. During the French war, a party of soldiers was quartered in Biggar, and when it was known that their band was to play on Sunday, "Maister Broon," though then a poor Seceder minister, offered to give them £3 if they would not play; but military law was inexorable. When I hinted to my friend the desirableness of the Presbyterian Churches being gathered into one fold, he observed, "Weel, I wud tak the United Presbyterians into the Established Kirk, but for ony sake keep oot the Frees: we had nae peace wi' them in the Auld Kirk; they're kittle folk, sir." My worthy friend, however, must exercise a little forbearance.

Dr Cairns, the eminent pupil, successor, and biographer of Dr Brown, timidly dissents from this theory, and is disposed to take higher ground, although he maintains considerable reserve, and his criticism is not quite luminous.* Dr W. L. Alexander is the scholarly pupil, successor, and biographer of Dr Wardlaw. Now, in 1832, Dr Wardlaw published a volume of "Discourses on the Christian Sabbath," and in the concluding discourse he discusses what Dr Alexander truly designates the "delicate and difficult question of the province of the civil magistrate in relation to the Sabbath." † Here the author and the critic are at open variance. Dr Alexander does not, like Dr Cairns, merely indicate a modest dissent, but speaks out plainly and forcibly, like a thinker whose logical position is impregnable. Dr Wardlaw teaches that the Legislature is precluded from enforcing the observance of the Sabbath on sacred grounds; but that it may on secular grounds "enforce it so far as to prohibit all traffic, to secure from all unnecessary annoyance and interruption those who choose to devote the day to religious services, and to regulate the amusements of the people, so far as to prevent all noisy and obtrusive modes of recreation." This reasoning is specious, and has been deemed by many worthy persons as conclusive. Dr Alexander gives it no quarter. He pronounces "this part of Dr Wardlaw's work unworthy of the rest;" the reasoning is "singularly inconclusive;" his "premises are too narrow, or the conclusions too wide;" his "premises do not legitimise his conclusions; and he can account for Dr Wardlow's loose reasoning, only by supposing that the sermon had been written hastily, or under the depressing influence of feeble health." The remainder of his criticism is a model of cogency and condensation. If, as he argues, the magistrate be restricted to secular grounds, he has no right to make the violation of the Sabbath a punishable crime, and it is tyranny to prohibit popular amusements, which do not injure person or property. Nor is it sufficient to protect those who spend the Sabbath in religious exercises, since

* Dr Cairns' Life of Dr Brown, p. 273. The Life was published in 1860. We have seen the advantage of attending to dates. Logicians, of whom Dr Cairns is one, understand the fallacy of references.

† Alexander's Life of Wardlaw, p. 294.

every society assembled for lawful purposes on any day of the week is entitled to protection. Abstract from the Sabbath its sacred and religiously imperative character, and it is then placed on the same level as any other civil holiday. When the magistrate attempts, on secular grounds, to do what Dr Wardlaw recommends, people rebel with justice. Either the magistrate must not meddle with the Sabbath at all, or he must base his interference on its religious character, just as he forbids polygamy, the marrying of one's sister, perjury, or the holding of slaves. "If the cricket club of Parish A shall see meet to challenge the cricket club of Parish Z to a match next Sunday, that shall decide in the face of all England the comparative merits of these illustrious rivals; or if John Stubbs thinks nothing so refreshing, after a hard day's work, as a game at bowls or skittles on the Sunday; or if the grocer's wife, with her marriageable, but not married daughters, thinks there is nothing so pleasant on earth as a Sunday visit to Greenwich or Vauxhall, —is it not most unreasonable in the Legislature to step in and say, 'It is true we appointed this day to be observed purely on secular grounds, as a day of relaxation and recreation; but, nevertheless, we cannot allow you to amuse yourselves on this day as you may on other days, and therefore all such noisy and obtrusive amusements must be prohibited?'"*

* See Alexander's Life of Wardlaw, p. 296. I trust I may be allowed to acknowledge the instruction which I have received from Dr Alexander's works. He is one of the few Scottish divines who is a profound biblical scholar and an accomplished preacher. Of his fine literary taste and culture I need not speak. If he had spent his clerical life in protracted debates in Church Courts, he could never have taken his present high position. His ministrations have elevated the tone of hundreds of students who are not Congregationalists. Excellent as his pulpit discourses always are, I suspect that many persons belonging to his very large congregation have been partly attracted by the chastened beauty and solemnity of the other services. Certainly few preachers in any Church, Established or Dissenting, have been more chary of courting the populace than the accomplished pastor of Augustine Church, or less tolerant of coughing, late arrivals, and premature departures. Among the blunders committed by the Edinburgh Town Council, before it lost the patronage of the University Chairs, was their declining to appoint Dr Alexander Professor of Moral Philosophy. What an admirable Professor of Christian Ethics was thus lost! He was a candidate when Professor Wilson resigned. When Professor Dugald Stewart demitted his functions, the Town Council offered his chair to Sir J. Mackintosh, and the Council of the London University offered their Moral Philosophy Chair to Dr Wardlaw. Dr Alexander's supreme fitness may be inferred

The Joint-Committees have discovered that they can agree on the power of the Civil Magistrate, not only in protecting life, liberty, and property, but "in the swearing of oaths, the Sabbath, and the appointment of days of humiliation and thanksgiving." Dr Robert Buchanan asserted, in the last Free General Assembly, "It is notorious that not one of the negotiating Churches has ever dreamt that the Articles of Union should contain a denial of the lawfulness of Church Establishments. . . . . It is equally notorious that the United Presbyterian Church is not against, but for, the doctrine that Christ should be nationally recognised."* The late Dr Hetherington, Professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow, author of the "History of the Church of Scotland," and Editor of the "Free Church Magazine"—an acute controversialist, at least as deeply versed in Voluntaryism as Dr Robert Buchanan—gives a very different testimony. His work was published shortly before the Disruption of 1843. "Voluntaryism virtually maintained the manifest absurdity that what was the duty of each Christian in the nation individually was not the duty of the whole as a Christian nation collectively."†

With a painful distrust in my own judgment, I have some misgivings whether some distinguished ministers of the United Presbyterian Committee would have subscribed such a document thirty years ago, but I rejoice that they have now screwed their courage up to the sticking point. After this admission of the Civil Magistrate's prerogative, it appears to follow that endowments are not necessarily sinful, since the endowment is merely an application of the principle. It is quite conceivable, however, that in certain countries, and in certain circumstances, endowments may not be expedient or practicable.

When the Voluntary flag was hoisted in 1832, the abstract question, however much it may have been pondered by solitary thinkers, made little impression on the public mind. The controversy raged around the concrete question of parochial

from his admirable article "Moral Philosophy," in the 8th edition of "Encyclopædia Britannica."

* See "Daily Review" of 26th May, 1869.

† See "History of the Church of Scotland," p. 721.

endowments, a question which every person of the meanest capacity thought himself able to master. In truth, Voluntaryism, thus limited, was embodied in the words—"Every congregation should support its own minister." This creed was at least precise, and easily understood. In many congregations, the estimates of ministerial wants were rather low, while others maintained that the essence of Voluntaryism consisted in not paying a fixed sum at all, so that prospective starvation sometimes dissolved the pastoral tie between niggardly flocks and their too confiding pastors, who had been foremost in the crusade against endowments. To assert that the Secession ministers were actuated by jealousy of the greater permanency and amount of the stipends of the Establishment, would be hard to prove; but it is incontestable that their congregations generally took that view.

There is reason to believe that the younger race of United Presbyterian ministers are more liberal in their opinions than those who flourished during the Voluntary Controversy. The question must sometimes occur—Is Voluntaryism, pure and simple, in force at the present moment? When a congregation builds a chapel, and pays a minister, it carries out Voluntaryism to the letter. But when a new generation occupies the building free of debt, is not this in reality an endowment? A manse is next built for the minister by this second generation. The generation which succeeds gets possession of church and manse without the outlay of one farthing. Is not this a second endowment? Legacies are bequeathed to the congregation in perpetuity. What are these but endowments?* A rich capitalist, who had amassed wealth by miserly hoarding, dies in the West of Scotland, leaving an immense fortune, to be distributed by Trustees, in aiding education and religion,—a more useful bequest, certainly, than one for rearing a palace for poor children. Various United Presbyterian congregations solicit grants to assist in the erection

* I have been told that a reverend Doctor in one of the Edinburgh United Presbyterian Churches, who is one of the ablest and most consistent Voluntaries, is against congregations holding Church property, and prefers that they should rent halls, when obtainable. This plan, though attended with obvious inconvenience, would save litigation, at all events.

of chapels and manses, and their request is granted. They next solicit annual grants as supplements to their ministers' stipends, and, I rejoice to hear, they receive them. If this is not an endowment, the word must have acquired a non-natural sense. No doubt, the grants are made on certain conditions. But are not all endowments made on conditions of some sort? Mr Ferguson, the testator, was not a member of the United Presbyterian Church, but was attached to the Establishment.* I know there are Voluntaries who disapprove of the Cairnbrock supplements being accepted. There are in every community cynics and croakers with large obstructive powers, and impractical visionaries who excel in talking much and doing nothing. Let no one, then, imagine that the United Presbyterians stick closely to the pure and simple dogma of old Voluntaryism.†

If I may borrow a phrase, now familiarised by the proposal of the Earl of Mayo, the United Presbyterians have been "levelling up" since the abatement of the Voluntary Controversy. Has the Free Church been "levelling down?" Dr Candlish and Dr Robert Buchanan would answer, No. Dr Gibson‡ and Dr Horatius Bonar would as surely answer, Yes.

* Some years ago, an uproar was caused in the Free Church Assembly, by Dr Gibson asserting that Mr Ferguson had not been a member of any Church, which assertion Dr Joshua Paterson, Mr Ferguson's nephew, warmly resented, without, however, denying it. Dr Robert Buchanan came to his rescue.

† I understand that there is now a Henderson Bequest Fund for United Presbyterian Churches. This is another step in the right direction, a new endowment. We need not dispute about names.

‡ To these I might add, Dr James Buchanan, lately Professor in the Free Church College, Edinburgh. He is known to mourners by his widely-circulated work on "Affliction;" to theologians, by his admirable and exhaustive treatise on the "Holy Spirit," "Faith in God and Atheism Compared," "Justification by Faith," and "Examination of the 'Essays and Reviews.'" Before the Disruption he was minister of North Leith, and for some years colleague to Dr Gordon in the High Church, and was much esteemed as an accomplished and solemn preacher. At Dr Cunningham's death, Dr Candlish was elevated over his head to the Principalship of the College, avowedly because his influence might raise money to endow the Professors: he proposed to raise £80,000 by means of "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether." He is still pulling. Dr James Buchanan's settlement in North Leith has been described to me by a shrewd Edinburgh journalist, who was the chief instrument in effecting it. Mr Buchanan was then minister in Roslin, a village about seven miles from Edinburgh. After the death of Dr Ireland, of North Leith, the large congregation, which posseses the right of appointing a successor, was much distracted; but one of their number received a hint from the

What is the attitude of the Free Church? It is now a quarter of a century old; its history does not take us back to a date beyond the memory of most men now living; three or four years will remove from active exertion the leaders of the Disruption. Their position was quite different from that of the Seceders in the last century. Like the Wesleyan Methodists, they rejected the name of Dissenters, and claimed to be the Free Church of Scotland, whereas the Wesleyans have never designated their society the Free Church of England. The Scottish Free Church aimed high, toiled hard, gathered congregations, and raised vast sums of money. Chapels were run up in almost every parish; the list of schools swelled in proportion; the schemes of the Church were liberally supported; Theological Halls were opened in three University cities, not, however, without the strenuous opposition of Dr Cunningham and his party; Philosophical chairs were erected in Edinburgh, speedily, however, to be suppressed; a central Sustentation Fund was established in the room of the Teinds; in short, a Church was launched in one year, designed to resemble the Establishment in everything save State endowments and recognition.*

The Free Church did not demand endowments from the

journalist of the eminent gifts of the young pastor of Roslin. On the following Sunday, vehicles and pedestrians of all sorts were speeding to that quiet village, and the preacher was astonished to see his sanctuary overcrowded, and with strangers. Soon after came the call, subscribed by so many members and parishioners of North Leith, that it was thirty feet long! In those days, Mr Buchanan's preaching is said to have combined the solemnity of Dr Gordon, with the vehemence of Dr Chalmers, and his health gave way. In the High Church, Edinburgh, where I first heard him, he was evidently struggling with bodily weakness; his congregation was immense, and many remember the feeble, slender figure, dimly discernible through the gloom of a wintry Sunday, the tender and solemn tones of a finely-modulated voice, the small Bible clasped in the uplifted hand, and the elaborate discourse, delivered without notes, on such texts as "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come!"

* I have already expressed my dislike to the military pomp heralding the meeting of the Established Assembly. Attentive readers of the newspapers will remember a ludicrous attempt by a Free Church Assembly Moderator to mimic the pageant of the Lord High Commissioners. He filled the chair of the Free Assembly of 1860. A grand levée was held in the large hall of the Free Church College, and a grand reception was given by the Moderator and his lady. What stamps the whole affair as ridiculous is the fact, that no preceding or subsequent Moderator indulged in any such freak. The annual allowance for the Moderator was £125, but in 1860 it was increased to £200. I considerately omit the name of the courtly Moderator; he sits hard by the Earl of Dalhousie in the Assembly.

State. These they had forfeited by their spontaneously quitting the Establishment, as they were not deposed like Ebenezer Erskine for contumacy, but resigned their livings in vindication of their consistency, and in redemption of pledges given to their adherents. Thus the new Seceders marched down to Tanfield Hall with the unchallenged status of ordained ministers.* The new Church was cradled in excitement. Its prolonged struggles with the Civil Courts had aroused the slumbering passions of a large portion of the Scottish nation, including two or three Whig Peers of great Parliamentary weight, and numerous laymen of eminent professional position. Having escaped from Egyptian bondage and the flesh-pots, they were free to act as they listed. If any society, either secular or ecclesiastical, might have been supposed to be panting for concord, it was the ministers, elders, and members of the Free Church. For a time, a few short years, all was smooth and harmonious. But lowering clouds betokened coming storms, which were perhaps hastened by the sudden death of Dr Chalmers in 1847. Centralisation was affirmed to be excessive. The maintenance and distribution of the Sustentation Fund involved constant anxiety and responsibility. A large majority of the congregations have been always a burden on the Fund; hence Dr Robert Buchanan, the astute Convener of the Fund Committee, once compared the Free Church to an inverted cone! Sundry country ministers alleged the violation of a compact that all the ministers should be equally paid. The Education Scheme was felt to be burdensome and unacceptable, since, though the Ante-Disruption ministers, "the Waterloo men," strove to maintain the schools, the Post-Disruption ministers were more lukewarm in their support. The College dispute lasted over several years. Dr Cunningham had set his heart on founding a "fully-equipped"

* One rather interesting fact connected with the Disruption I have never seen mentioned in the numerous accounts of the painful spectacle. Shortly before Dr Welsh and the members of the General Assembly had come down from the High Church, Dr Cook and Dr Candlish entered St Andrew's Church by opposite doors, and, meeting in the centre, shook hands, and engaged in conversation. Presently the Commissioner, Moderator, and members made their appearance, [illegible]e two combatants retired to their respective seats. Dr Candlish may remember parting. Dr Cook died in 1845 or 1846; Dr Welsh in 1845.

Hall in Edinburgh, and fiercely resisted the extension of Halls to Aberdeen and Glasgow. Aberdonian persistency and Dr Clark's endowment overcame his resistance. Complaints were raised against the expensive management of the Free Church offices, and the needless increase of officials. Theological Professors were said to owe their elevation not to merit, but to the favour of friends at head-quarters. These feelings found a powerful and truthful exponent in an eminent minister of the Free Church, who had resigned a parochial charge. The Rev. Mr Purves, of Jedburgh, at a meeting of his Presbytery on February 16th, 1858, in moving an overture to the General Assembly on the Sustentation Fund, "made very special allusion to the frequency and urgency of those harassing appeals which ministers have been compelled to make in connexion with the subject of their own maintenance." He referred to the fact that the country ministers who seceded were the sufferers, while the incomes of town ministers were undiminished.* Of the former, many, he said, had two-thirds, some but one-half, of their previous income. "Education has been pushed, whether much needed or not; to be upsides, forsooth, with the Parochial Schools." He alluded to "costly colleges,† most costly to the

* Dr Begg, in the Preface to Mr Macnaught's Pamphlet, informs us that several Free Church ministers have been endowed: Dr Guthrie has received £5000, with a house; Dr Candlish, £6000; Dr Robert Buchanan, £5000; and Sir Henry Moncreiff, £2000, and a house. These are not endowments, but donations. Dr Guthrie's case is exceptional: his Ragged Schools have saved the city at least a hundred times the sum he has received. Dr Candlish had been a loser by the Disruption. Dr Robert Buchanan had been a gainer: his income had been £100 a-year more than in the Establishment. Endowments securing a regular provision for the ministers in perpetuity are preferable to slump sums given to incumbents for the time being. With Mr Macnaught's statements and estimates I have no concern. I always grieve to hear of faithful pastors of any Church being underpaid or shabbily treated. Surely nobody will blame me for recalling the jubilee of Dr John Brown, in 1856. At an enormous gathering of his congregation, and of friends from distant parts, he was presented with £610: he added to this £50 from his own pocket, and the whole was set apart in perpetuity for the relief of some one aged minister, to be selected by trustees and approved by the Synod. Yet Dr Brown was never wealthy. How he contrived to amass his magnificent library, in which he took a pardonable pride, I could never comprehend. I never saw a finer in Edinburgh, except, perhaps, that of Sir William Hamilton, also a poor man. Both were equally obliging in lending books to diligent students.

† In connection with the "costly colleges" mentioned by Mr Purves, it may not be out of place to devote a corner to the cost of the Glasgow Free Church Normal Insti-

Church at large, notwithstanding the munificent but foolish and unprofitable benefactions received." Regarding the schemes, he said: "It has been, in fact, the most painful thing to every man of delicate feelings since the origin of the Disruption Church. It has been a cross not laid upon the backs, but crushing the very hearts of most of us. I would not undergo again the agony it has cost me these dozen or fourteen years for any consideration under heaven. . . . We were compelled, from year's end to year's end, to occupy every Presbytery with money affairs, and instead of going to the pulpit with the rich blessings of heaven in our hands, there to produce them free as the air we breathe, to carry on an eternal wrangle and reproach with the people about their niggardly supplies."* Who is the Rev. Mr Purves? On the last evening of Dr Chalmers' life, Mr Purves'

tution, of whose committee of management Dr Robert Buchanan has been convener for about thirty years. In 1866, that Institution had fallen into debt, on account of extravagant expenditure by the committee. A collection was made in the October of that year at the doors of the Free Churches in behalf of the Normal Schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh. It amounted to £1426, 7s. Of this sum, the Edinburgh Institution received £113, 3s. 6d., while the Glasgow College received £1313, 3s. 6d.! The Glasgow Institution is again in deep waters. On May 6th, 1869, Dr Buchanan made this painful announcement in the Glasgow Free Presbytery, adding that the debt amounted to a "good many hundred pounds," which, in the November meeting of the Free Church Commission, he confessed to mean £1500. In appealing to members of the Free Church and other Churches for subscriptions, he said, that since 1845, 1507 students had been trained as teachers; but he omitted to add that the Institution has been receiving from Government a large sum annually for such training. How much? Has the gross sum since 1845 been £60,000? If not, how much more or less? Is it not the fact that the Free Church Normal Institution in Glasgow costs more annually than that in Edinburgh, or than either of the Established Normal Schools in either city? More than two months ago, a gentleman wrote to Dr Buchanan, calling his attention to these questions, but he received no answer. For many years the Rector, who is an elementary teacher, and does not perform the work of the Rectors of other Scottish Normal Schools, has been receiving a larger income than was ever paid to Dr Chalmers, to Dr Cunningham, or to Dr Fairbairn, as Principals in the Theological Colleges! No wonder that Mr Pollock was ashamed to appear in the Free Presbytery of Paisley to report the decline of the Education Fund. Yet Dr Buchanan is believed by some to be a great financier! Yes, in the sense that Mr Disraeli once declared a great whip to be a great statesman. What gives public importance to such waste of funds is the fact that they are drawn partly from the national exchequer, and partly from the funds of the Free Church.

* Quoted in "Turner's History of the Secession of 1843," p. 364. I entreat my readers, especially Voluntaries or Free Churchmen, to ponder the concluding words of this speech. If I believed my readers to be unfit to italicise them in their own minds, I should have printed them in italics or in small capitals.

name was the last on his lips. Addressing the Rev. Mr Gemmell of Fairlie, he asked if he had read Mr Purves' Sermons. On Mr Gemmell answering that he had not, Chalmers said, "They are excellent; and there is one in which he rides the marches between the election of God, on the one hand, and the freeness of the Gospel on the other, which is admirable."*

I believe that the Aberdeen Free Church College† owes its existence mainly to the exertions of Mr Francis Edmonds, an advocate in that city, and of the Rev. Dr A. D. Davidson, one of the most eloquent preachers in Scotland, as all who have heard him will own, whose great powers and merits are equalled by his genuine, perhaps excessive, modesty. Dr Davidson seldom speaks in Church Courts. Among the appointments of Professor was that of the Rev. Mr Lumsden of Barry. Shortly after he had assumed the office, an anonymous individual, probably not unknown to Mr Lumsden, offered to give £1000 to the College if the Professor should be dignified with the title of Principal. The offer was at once accepted, and Principal Lumsden receives the interest of the money. Was not this something like simony? In the last Free General Assembly the Principal won his spurs by denouncing "Good Words" and the "Sunday Magazine." Unless Dr Macleod and Dr Guthrie are confident that their respective monthlies can survive such an onslaught, they ought to enlist Principal Lumsden as a contributor.

The Glasgow Free Church College has had a chequered and painful history. As soon as a few influential friends of the Established Church had resolved to build the Park Church for the Rev. Dr Caird, the Free Church leaders hastened to erect a Free Church College on the opposite side of the street. The late Dr Clark of Wester Moffat, near Airdrie, an impulsive

* See Hanna's "Life of Chalmers," vol. iv. p. 515.

† Shortly after I had written these words, I observed the death of the Rev. Marcus Sachs, the profoundly erudite Professor of Hebrew in this College. He was a Prussian Jew, and a favourite pupil of Neander. He was a capital tutor, and his Aberdeen students bore away the palm for Hebrew scholarship against all competitors. Professor Sachs arrived in Edinburgh shortly after the Disruption, and was baptized by Dr John Brown. He always spoke contemptuously of Scottish theological learning, and with some reason. His own memory was prodigious. Despising the meek humility which characterises many converted Jews, he gloried in his race, and was a very unselfish man.

medical gentleman, who had been long subject to clerical influence, provided a sum not far short of £35,000 to pay the costs. But it soon became apparent that a Free College Church was also projected, and Dr Clark presented a site, with a condition or recommendation that Dr Robert Buchanan should be the first minister. Was not this something akin to patronage? At the Disruption Dr Buchanan had quitted the plebeian vicinity of his old church in the Tron parish—or St Mary's,* as he might prefer to call it—for the more eligible locality of Dundas Street, about half-a-mile to the west. After preaching there for sixteen years, he had a mind to follow the fashion, and to move westward another mile. Dr M'Crie, the Moderator of the Free Assembly, laid the foundation-stone of the College. Dr Buchanan laid the foundation-stone of the church, and in a superfine speech expressed the pleasure which he would feel in seeing the two structures rising up amid the "palatial mansions" of the mercantile aristocracy in the West End Park, the Belgravia of Glasgow. When Dr Cunningham heard of the project of the Glasgow College, his rage was boundless.† Dr Buchanan resented his attack by resigning his Convenership of the Sustentation Fund. Dr Cunningham rejoined by lamenting that he could not afford to resign something too! Dr Buchanan was pacified, or professed to be so, and again resumed office.‡ Whether he has rued his migra-

* See Dr Robert Buchanan's "Clerical Furlough," a narrative of his travels in Palestine. I have not the work at hand, but the passage occurs in a description of Cheops' Pyramid—proving how he was thinking about the old Tron parish, the figurative Egypt.

† The enormous cost of the three Free Church Colleges it is hard to estimate. Taking into account the interest of money spent on the edifices, and the salaries of the Professors, the annual expense cannot be less than £10,000, while that of the United Presbyterian Church, with nearly as many students, does not exceed £500! And who will say that its probationers are inferior to those of the Free Church?

‡ Does it not seem strange that a minister should have been for twenty-two years convener of a finance committee? And is it not doubly strange that this minister, who has such high notions of spiritual jurisdiction, combines in his own person spiritual and secular functions, thus constituting himself the Cardinal Antonelli of the Free Church? The Rev. Mr Isdale of Invertiel, Fifeshire, was, some twelve years ago, translated to Free St Andrew's Church, Glasgow. Being an honourable and outspoken man, and the son, moreover, of a parish minister, he had the boldness to question the profound wisdom of some of Dr Buchanan's financtics, and had the audacity to assert that there were not twelve men who

tion to the West End is best known to himself. Certainly he has obtained a palatial sanctuary, but the worshippers have never exceeded the number of a village flock.* Although I differ from Dr Gibson on many questions, it is impossible to withhold respect for his sterling honesty, and sympathy with the painful position which he occupied, about ten years ago, in connection with the wretched College disputes, when a few misguided, heartless students received encouragement in high quarters to beard and insult him in his own class-room. His torture did not end there. From month to month he was publicly accused in his own Presbytery of an odious falsehood by a reverend Doctor, who would neither substantiate nor retract the accusation, which rested on the authority of an unnamed "esteemed elder." Dr Gibson proved his innocence by unimpeachable evidence; and his reverend accuser, who had listened too credulously to the blundering information of a spy, was compelled to retract and apologise. As he expressed his regret at the offensive part he had taken, I suppress his name, although he soon reappeared on the scene as the accuser of another reverend brother. Dr Gibson has his faults, like other men; but, after the heat of the contention has cooled

could follow them. How he fluttered the dovecots of Dr Buchanan's section of the Free Church Presbytery! Certain other new members of Presbytery also dared to think for themselves, and to speak as they thought. A private meeting of the ruffled leaders was held, at the house of one of their number in the West End, to consider the gravity of the crisis, and the best means of arresting it. Some novel and amusing plans were proposed; but the greybeards were in sore perplexity. There was no press reporter present; yet secrets will leak out. In connection with the Sustentation Fund it is not generally known that Mr Handyside, the late Secretary of the Sustentation Fund Committee, who prior to 1843 was a legal practitioner with slender practice, was Dr Buchanan's brother-in-law, and drew a handsome salary for dragooning Free Church congregations.

* In justice to Dr Buchanan, it ought to be explained that his removal to the Free College Church took place rather too late in life. He has been provided with a colleague, but the congregation has not increased. An attempt was once made to secure the Rev. Dr Davidson, of Aberdeen, as his colleague, and he would speedily have filled the church, or any church in Glasgow; but he has always peremptorily declined to quit Aberdeen, of which he is a native, and where he is highly prized, by Aberdonians and others, as an admirable preacher. He has a wholesome dislike of wrangling in Church Courts, and has, I believe, long ceased to attend the Free Church Assemblies. The rapid formation of three large Established Church congregations at the west-end of Glasgow—Sandyford Church, the Park Church, and another in Dumbarton Road—proves incontestably that the Free Church has been losing ground.

down, he is known to retain no malice or vindictiveness; indeed, his fault consists in showing his seamiest side. If, with his admitted scholarship and ability, he had learned to give the soft answer which turneth away wrath, and to play the part of a clerical trimmer, he might have been a more popular, though not a more estimable man.*

* I derived my knowledge of this painful case from a narrative published by Dr Gibson. It was admitted on all hands that he had treated the seven students with paternal kindness, which the result proved to have been wholly unmerited. Fancy a Student of Theology sketching caricatures of his Professor under his very nose! Fancy also the glaring absurdity of appointing the father of one of the delinquents, Dr Henderson, of Free St Enoch's Church, to be Convener of the Committee to enquire into the case! Would this have been tolerated in a Civil Court? I may add that I have no personal acquaintance with Dr Gibson; but I fear that the Free Church Divinity Halls, like those of other Presbyterian Churches, have been infested with young men who were a scandal to letters and religion. The late Mr Patrick Macdougall, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University, whom I visited near Roseneath about 1850, told me an anecdote which I heard with amazement. He was then Professor in the Edinburgh Free Church College, and, as he had been a brilliant student in the High School and University, he was appointed to conduct the examination of Free Church students who were competing for scholarships. As I had had considerable experience in this kind of work, I asked him if he had never detected them copying from books, or from one another in the written examinations,—a practice once quite common in King's College, Aberdeen, though now repressed. The Professor answered:—"I can prevent the copying by strict superintendence; but would you believe that I have actually discovered some of our students trying to tamper with the printer of the examination questions?" I had never dreamt of such a piece of rascality. Professor Macdougall's father had been minister of Killin, and had died leaving a young family. Patrick's early struggles were heroic and triumphant, and assuredly he owed nothing to cribbing. His early writings gave promise of great future distinction, which was never fully realised. His conversational powers were immense, but his written style was extremely cumbrous, and he was mortified by the reflection that he had not done more to realise Dr Chalmers's predictions.

CHAPTER III.

Union Question in the Free Church—Synod of Original Seceders—Cardross Case—Comparison of General Assemblies before and after 1843—"Presbyterian" on Anti-Patronage—Dr Robert Buchanan's "Ten Years' Conflict"—Its Omissions—Dr M'Crie—Hugh Miller and the "Witness"—Speech by Mr Orr Ewing, M.P., in the House of Commons—Dr Macleod's Address to the General Assembly—Superfluity of Presbyterian Churches—Struggles of Weak Congregations—Scheme of Reduction—Rise of Charity in the Free Church—Open Question—Scottish Teinds—Disestablishment of the Irish Church—Demands of Roman Catholic Hierarchy—Diversity of Discipline in the Free Church—Rev. Andrew Gray's "Constitutional Catechism"—Duke of Argyll's "Presbytery Examined"—Privy Council Grants to the Free Church—Rejection of Mr Macaulay—Defects of the Church Benefices Act.

BUT the Union question is now the apple of discord, and threatens a second Disruption. What renders this dispute so remarkable is not merely the keenness, nay, vehemence displayed on both sides, but the opposite interpretations put upon the Confession of Faith. Is it true, that, to purchase Union at any price, Dr Robert Buchanan and his supporters, by adroit manipulation of the Confession, have frittered away its meaning? Are the articles of agreement so antagonistic to the spirit and constitution of the Free Church, that devout men like Dr Horatius Bonar and Dr Samuel Miller have declared their determination not to remain in the United Church? That the Confession errs by excess in being too stringent, and faulty in allowing no scope for honest differences, has been often charged; but its meaning has hitherto been supposed to be quite unambiguous on the subject of the Civil Magistrate's province with respect to religion.* What the founders of the Free Church contemplated

* In the famous Campbeltown case, which was in the Court of Session in 1839, Mr Dunlop, late M.P., was counsel, and argued that the Confession of Faith approved of Establishments and endowments. In 1834, Bailie Craig, of Kilmarnock, one of the elders in the Church of Scotland, took the chair at a Voluntary meeting, and was deposed by the Presbytery of Irvine. He appealed to the Synod,

in quitting the Establishment can only be conjectured. Many of them foretold its speedy downfall, just as the more sanguine Voluntaries had done in 1832. Others expected to absorb the other Presbyterians, but excepting the petty incorporation of a portion of the Original Seceders in 1852, the other Presbyterians held aloof. That Union was solemnised with triumphal joy; Tanfield Hall was crowded by an audience as enthusiastic as it was numerous and imposing, and the Rev. Dr Duff, then on a visit to Scotland, after a long Indian campaign, expressed a hope that the Moderate Voluntaries would also return to the Free Zion. Dr Candlish's tone was jubilant. The Union was exactly after his own heart; there had been "no giving and taking, no word-catching and hair-splitting." One passage may be quoted as setting forth the terms on which the Union had been consummated. "We must claim historical descents and historical identities. . . . . We sustain the appeal of these brethren, we reverse the sentences of which they complained. We sustain that appeal; and, in virtue of sustaining it, assoilzie them of all offences, and recognise them as ministers of the Church of Scotland. . . . . We unite upon the grounds of Christ's glorious and sovereign Headship over the nations." Will the United Presbyterians consent to "be assoilzied of all offences?" The Doctor then waxed warlike and brandished his two-edged sword. "To-night we stand out upon the ground of opposition to Erastianism on the one hand, and Voluntaryism on the other."* In 1855, he favoured the citizens of Glasgow with a similar protest against the Erastians and the Voluntaries. "The date of our existence is 1560. We can trace our unbroken pedigree through many vicissitudes, trials, and persecutions, from that eventful year when first the

and next to the General Assembly: both Courts summarily affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery; and it is remarkable that Dr Guthrie, who lately proposed to run a steam-engine over those Free Churchmen who objected to the present Union, was a member of the Assembly in that year, when the Non-Intrusionists were in the ascendant. I do not believe that the Established Assembly of 1869 would have passed such a sentence.

*See "Witness" June 3rd, 1852. Voluntaryism and Erastianism were his bugbears for many years. As I quote the "Witness" occasionally, I may state that Mr Fairly, the intelligent partner of Hugh Miller in that journal, has kindly granted permission to consult the valuable file, ranging from 1840 to 1864, and the one extant in Edinburgh. In Mr Fairly's absence, his house is guarded by

General Assembly met in Scotland, by all the historical signs and marks which can possibly identify a National Church. We maintain, on the one hand, as regards other non-established Presbyterian bodies, that we are the Church from which their fathers seceded; and, on the other hand, we maintain, as regards the present Establishment, that we are the old hereditary Church of Scotland. Our constitutional position is important —the position which belongs to us in terms of the settlement of the Presbyterian Church—not only from the beginning, but after all the sufferings of persecution times, and at the era of the Revolution. And, if we shall ever be tempted, in the exercise of any spurious charity, or to gain any temporary end, to do anything that implies the relinquishment of that principle, we shall be false to ourselves, stultifying all we said and did in Disruption times—false to the great and sainted men who led us on at the Disruption, and are now passed into glory, and false to that venerable body of the most eminent judges in this country—the minority, in point of number, but containing the vast preponderance of legal talent—Lords Moncreiff, Jeffrey, Cockburn, and others, who distinctly gave their solemn conviction that the position we now claim to occupy is correct —that we are the Church of the time of the Revolution. . . . To this testimony we desire to cleave. We cannot join in an incorporating union with those who openly declare that this is no part of the duty of a Christian Government, and that as far as the State is concerned, the people may live and die without religion and without God. Such a union would be at variance with all our past contendings, and in utter defiance of all our past testimony. Shall we be found forgetting the great deliverances God has wrought for our Church and for our nation in former days, when the 'aspect of the times' was darker than now? Shall we throw contempt on the conflicts,

"Rover," a splendid black Newfoundland dog, who at first protested angrily against my intrusion, and lay down on the parlour floor, eyeing me rather suspiciously. By degrees, he and I became quite friendly, and I verily believe that we have established so amicable relations, that, if any intrusionist were to insult me, he would be my defender. I have lingered many hours over the "Witness" files, which are redundant with Hugh Miller's intellect, fancy, humour, and sarcasm. Everywhere they abound with a repudiation of the extreme Voluntary principle, as incompatible with the administration of a Christian State.

testimonies, and national covenants of our forefathers? Shall we abandon the Claim of Right and Protest, and with these the basis of our constitutional freedom as a Church of Christ? Nay, verily, God helping us, we shall follow the old banner, and walk in the old paths." In the same speech there occurs the following very stringent and emphatic passage, expressing what must be regarded as Dr Candlish's profound convictions: —"There are two distinctive principles for which the Free Church is called to contend, and for which she has been willing to suffer—the sole and exclusive right of the Lord Jesus to give laws to His own people; the right of Christ to rule over all the kings of the earth, and the obligations under which they lie to regulate all their proceedings with a regard to His Word, and to countenance in every way His cause, and do what they can by national influence and resources to promote the cause of His Kingdom. These are the principles for which we are called to testify, and they are not principles belonging to any particular place or time, but applicable to every church, wherever situated, in whatever country or circumstances; and woe be to the Free Church if she ever be found even appearing to underrate the magnitude and importance of these principles. Most of all, woe to her if it be at a crisis like that which appears to be impending over Christendom."*

Meanwhile both the Establishment and the Voluntaries maintained their ground, and grew apace. Alike in the Church as in the State, a middle position is precarious. Hope and fear are the mainsprings of human conduct. Past struggles and triumphs are apt to engender conceit; perpetual retrospect and drowsy reverie sink into sloth and inaction. Hence negotiations were commenced for the promotion of Union on a larger scale. In the year 1854 numerous conferences were held in Edinburgh between ministers and elders of the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches to further this end. Three years after, in 1857, many leading laymen of both Churches subscribed a

* See "Witness," November 17th, 1855. The speech was delivered in the City Hall on the evening of November 13, 1855. I was present, and I remember that it was delivered with great energy, and produced a powerful effect, and gave deep offence to Erastians and Voluntaries. As the meeting was held to promote the Manse Fund, it was maintained that he had gone out of his way to attack his old s. Dr Guthrie and Professor Miller had spoken before him.

declaration that, in the event of a Union, the question of the Civil Magistrate's authority in religion, and of the endowment, should be matters of forbearance. What was the result? Why, not only did the Free Church ecclesiastical leaders refuse to sanction such a Union, but some of them were inclined to subject the movers in the matter to formal ecclesiastical censure.* Dr John Brown, who had foreseen this difficulty, quaintly remarked to a friend that "the time of figs was not yet." In the Free Church Assembly of 1857, Dr Candlish vehemently denounced another Union then projected between the Episcopalian Churches of England and Scotland—a Union about which very few Scottish Presbyterians gave themselves any concern, and which was partially consummated two years ago, although in 1857 "the time of figs was not yet."

The famous Cardross case absorbed the attention and excited the fears of the Free Church leaders in 1860. Cardross is a thinly-populated parish, through which the railway traveller passes on his way from Dumbarton to Helensburgh. At the Palace of Cardross King Robert Bruce spent his last days; and tradition records that in his lonely rambles he was accompanied by a tame lion. Of Cardross the Rev. John Macaulay, the grandfather of Lord Macaulay,† was parish minister. Impelled by

* See Dr Cairns's "Life of Dr Brown," p. 317.

† Lord Macaulay's descent from a Scottish minister, and his representation of Edinburgh in Parliament, warrant a short notice of his family. The Macaulays of Dumbartonshire were originally small farmers in the Island of Lewis, one of the most Celtic of all our Highland districts. Some of the ancestors of Lord Macaulay, however, were rather celebrated men in their day. His great-grandfather, Aulay Macaulay, was minister of Harris. This Aulay had two sons, John and Kenneth, who were both ministers of the Church of Scotland. John Macaulay began his ministry in the Island of South Uist, and, after being some time in Inverary, died minister of Cardross. It was while at Inverary that he received a visit from Dr Samuel Johnson, who, as we gather from Boswell's Tour in the Hebrides, formed a rather high opinion of him. His brother, Kenneth Macaulay, minister, first in Harris, and afterwards in Cawdor, was the author of the "History of St Kilda," whom Dr Johnson also visited in his tour to the Hebrides, having formed a high opinion of his book, which, he said, was "a very pretty piece of topography," and with whom, as Boswell informs us, the great man had a tough debate on creeds and confessions, which ended in Johnson saying to him, "Sir, you are *a bigot to laxness*." Jean Macaulay, daughter of the Rev. John Macaulay, of Cardross, was married in 1787 to Mr Thomas Babington, of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, the representative of an old and honourable family, who sat for Leicester in Parliament from 1800 till 1813. Mr Babington had been crossed in love, and, to

that strong attachment to the home of his forefathers which increases with advancing years, the noble historian revisited Cardross in the autumn before his sudden and lamented death, and took up his abode in Macpherson's Hotel, at Luss, on the picturesque banks of Loch Lomond.

On an inauspicious day after the Disruption, the Rev. John Macmillan, a Highland minister, was translated from Ballachulish to the Free Church at Cardross. He must have been esteemed a man of solid parts and good reputation, for he was chosen clerk of the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, by far the largest

soothe his wounded feelings, had made a tour in Scotland, where he met his future spouse. He was an upright and religious man, joined the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and was sometimes the butt of the merry fox-hunting squires of Leicestershire when assembled at Melton-Mowbray, the hunting capital of England. Jean Macaulay had two brothers—Aulay Macaulay, who entered the English Church, and died Vicar of Rothley, a man of considerable literary reputation,—and Zachary Macaulay, who, after acting for some years as Governor of Sierra Leone, returned to England, and devoted his utmost energy, till his death in 1837, to negro emancipation, in concert with Wilberforce, Buxton, Clarkson, Stephen, Romilly, and Brougham. He married Miss Mills, of Bristol, daughter of a Quaker bookseller, and a favourite pupil of Mrs Hannah More. Zachary's eldest son was the celebrated historian, named after Mr Thomas Babington, and born in 1800 at Rothley Temple, an ancient mansion, with a private chapel, situated about four miles from Leicester on the Loughborough Road. Aulay Macaulay, Vicar of Rothley, had several sons, one of them being the late Mr Kenneth Macaulay, Q.C. and M.P. for Cambridge, who was a strong Conservative. Mrs Hannah More took a warm interest in the son of Miss Mills, and lived to see him commence a brilliant Parliamentary career. Shortly before his death, he revisited her house at Barley Wood, in which he had been a guest in his boyish days. In connection with the Anti-Slavery question, it may be added, that when Mr Macaulay was a young man, the nominee of the Marquis of Lansdowne for Calne, and Secretary of the Board of Control in Earl Grey's Administration, he, faithful to paternal example, voted against his party, and tendered his resignation, which Earl Grey magnanimously refused to accept. During his voyage from India, where he had spent three years as member of the Supreme Council for reforming the Indian Code, his father died in London. Zachary Macaulay's youngest son is the Rev. John Macaulay, Rector of Aldingham, and Incumbent of Dendron, Lancashire, and Honorary Canon of Carlisle. His daughter was married to Sir Charles Trevelyan. She was the literary executrix of Lord Macaulay, who was deeply attached to her. Her overwhelming grief at his funeral in Westminster Abbey is still fresh in the memory of the bystanders. Her son is Mr Otto Trevelyan, M.P. for the Border Burghs. Lord Macaulay, on being raised to the Peerage by Lord Palmerston, was summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Macaulay of Rothley Temple. His sparkling article on Samuel Johnson is well known. It was somewhat severe, but just. Still, shortly before his death he contributed to the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" a kinder biography. He may have heard from his father, Zachary, traditions of brave old Samuel, the last of the Romans.

in the Free Church. Unfortunately, he fell under the displeasure of an opulent local Free Churchman, who subscribed largely to the schemes of the Free Church, and was very hospitable to Free Church ministers. At length whispers were circulated against the moral character of the Cardross Free Church minister, and a libel was served on him to appear before the Free Church Presbytery of Dumbarton. Will it be credited that the libel, if not drawn, was revised and sent down to Dumbarton by a reverend Free Church Doctor in Glasgow?

> "What private griefs they had, alas! I know not,
> That made them do it; they are wise, and honourable,
> And will, no doubt, with reason answer me."*

Whatever may have been the misdemeanours which were charged against the unfortunate Free Church minister of Cardross, the Free Church was compelled to defend itself in the Court of Session. Frivolous and vexatious preliminary delays were interposed by the leaders, who were the real defenders in the case. They retained very able counsel,† who exercised their ingenuity in raising such preliminary objections as are commonly raised by litigants who have got into a scrape. Was Mr Macmillan to pursue the members of the Assembly which deposed him, or the Moderator, or the clerks? Could he pursue an Assembly or its officers no longer existing? Was the Court of Session entitled to demand production of the contract which was said to have been broken? Strenuous attempts were made to deny its jurisdiction, as an interference with the Headship of Christ, but the Court very properly refused to be swayed by them. It might not have listened to any application to go into the merits of the case. That might have been held the province of the Free Presbytery of Dumbarton. But could it possibly have refused to consider whether the conditions, under which it had been agreed the merits should be tried, had been fulfilled? What the pursuer complained of was, that in his trial he had not

* "Julius Cæsar," iii. 3. The singular, however, has been changed to the plural.

† The counsel for Mr Macmillan were Mr Macfarlane, Mr Patrick Fraser, and Mr Dundas Grant. After Mr Macfarlane's elevation to the bench, Mr Patton took his place. The counsel for the Free Church were Lord Advocate Moncreiff, Mr George Young, Mr A. R. Clark, and Mr Neil Campbell.

received the benefit of the forms of procedure created and sanctioned by the constitution of the Free Church. It was demonstrated with great legal and logical cogency by Mr Dundas Grant, the junior counsel for Mr Macmillan, that the Free Church had a civil and corporate existence, that her character was not indefinite or intangible, that she possessed funds and heritable property, that she was, therefore, a civil society with which civil interests were connected, having a contract and constitution, and that her members were entitled to vindicate their rights under that contract, if necessary, in the Civil Courts.* He showed that the Free Church had the greatest amount of liberty that could be conceded to any corporation in a free country, to wit, that of making any laws or contract it chose on two conditions only—1st, That these laws should be in harmony with the organic laws of the realm; and 2nd, That, being made, they should be observed. He further argued that it was absurd to maintain that one of two disputants, as to whether a contract to which they were both parties had been kept, should have the power of interpreting the meaning of that contract. This was the prerogative of the Civil Courts. Who can doubt it? If a minister or a member of a Church is to be refused the right of appeal to Civil Courts, to enforce the terms of the agreement under which he became such minister or member, where is his guarantee for either civil rights or spiritual liberty? Is such a constitution not a mockery and an instrument of persecution in the hands of Church Courts? By dint of mystification,†

* See "Scotsman," May 22nd, 1863, for a full report of Mr Grant's speech. The law of "Creeds and Churches" is ably laid down by Mr Taylor Innes in his recent work. An examination of it was published last year by Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff, Bart., D.D., who disputes several of Mr Innes's positions, and takes exception to the views expressed in the Duke of Argyll's "Presbytery Examined," and in Dean Stanley's "Address on the Connexion of Church and State." Sir Henry's "Creeds and Churches in Scotland" is a lawyer-like production, but, on the whole, inconclusive.

† At a meeting held in the City Hall, Glasgow, I heard the Rev. Dr Lindsay read a long speech, but it was evident that he had not mastered the facts. The Rev. William Arnot talked of taking the blue bonnets over the border, which was a passing joke to relieve the dulness of the proceedings. Mr Arnot, now of the Free High Church, Edinburgh, is a racy joker as well as a forcible preacher. In the Free General Assembly of 1852, he thus joked at the expense of Dr Robert Buchanan:—"Not long ago a parcel came through the post-office in Glasgow, intituled on the back, 'To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Glasgow.' The

several eminent ministers of the United Presbyterian Church were, nevertheless, led to justify the steps taken by the Free Church leaders, who were relieved from great embarrassment, when want of means to prolong the contest compelled Mr Macmillan to withdraw his action. Influential Church leaders can easily raise £3,000 by raising a cry of persecution, and appealing to "large-hearted Christian friends," who possess more money than understanding. On the other hand, a poor minister, whose character has been blown upon, meets with few friends or sympathisers: he is the Anathema Maranatha of society. Even in the Free Church Presbytery, however, a majority deemed Mr Macmillan innocent of the main charge brought against him; in the Synod, again, a majority voted in his favour on the whole charge; but he was deposed by the Assembly. It was fitting that the prime mover in the defence to this Cardross case of 1860 should be the same leader who had introduced the mischievous Spiritual Independence resolution into the Established General Assembly in 1838.* It is the dictate of common sense, and I am assured by three legal gentlemen, who have made the law of Creeds and Churches their special study, that neither the Free Church nor any other Church can hope for exemption from civil actions when she oversteps the limits of civil law, or of her own laws or constitution.† So may it ever be! That the Cardross case has taught

postman handed it into Dr Buchanan's lobby." (Roars of laughter.) See "Witness," June 3rd, 1852. A lady whom I met lately maintained that Mr Arnot was a D.D., and surely he ought to be one. He is reported to have written, about twenty years ago, a jocular and sarcastic article in the "Free Church Magazine" ridiculing degrees; however, he ought to have spared the feelings of Dr Robert Buchanan, and not to have made light of dignities.

* If Dr Robert Buchanan had not been infatuated with an insatiable desire to clutch what Mr Shiel would have called "a splendid phantom," he might have taken warning from an article in the November number of "Blackwood's Magazine" in 1839, contributed by Mr Inglis, advocate, now Lord President of the Court of Session, and from his interview, in 1840, with Lord Melbourne, then Premier.—(See Notes L and M, Appendix.

† A memorable illustration of this assertion was furnished several years ago by the action of the Rev. Dr Lang, of Sydney, against the Established Presbytery of Irvine. About thirty years ago, Dr Lang had a dispute with his brethren in New South Wales, and was deposed by the Commission of the Established General Assembly, on the motion, if I remember rightly, of Dr Candlish, whose speech I heard, and he was nearly ejected from his Church in Sydney. Encouraged, probably, by the Cardross case, he instituted a process before the Judicial Committee of the

even Dr Robert Buchanan a wholesome lesson is beyond all question. Protestant Hildebrands are solecisms in the nineteenth century. Mr Macmillan, however, found no tame lion in Cardross.* It was in the year 1863, that, in the estimation of some potent, grave, and reverend seigniors of the Free Church, "the time of figs" had come. Thistles had sprung up in painful profusion. How to obtain a crop of figs was a hard problem. Persons behind the scenes say that the negotiations commenced in Glasgow on the part of the Free Church. As Dr Robert Buchanan ingenuously confessed in the Free General Assembly —"Truly, misfortune reconciles men to strange bed-fellows."† That the policy of the Free Church has been long controlled by two clerical minds, one in Glasgow, the other in Dundee,‡ is well ascertained. Edinburgh has furnished a spokesman of great readiness in statement, of consummate skill in debate, and, when hard pushed, not an entire stranger to the ingenious

English Privy Council, which reinstated him in the Church, because there had been some informality in the preliminary proceedings of the Presbytery of Irvine, by which he had been originally ordained in 1822. He also raised an action against that Presbytery, which had to pay the costs. He was the first Presbyterian minister in New South Wales, and he has nobly maintained the cause of Scottish Presbyterianism against hostile governors and Popish archbishops.

* I have been assured by a highly-respected Free Church minister, that the Presbytery of Dumbarton would have been contented with admonishing Mr Macmillan, but for the interference of the Glasgow brother. Another Free Church minister, equally respected, has assured me that the subsequent career of some of the witnesses against Mr Macmillan has not tended to enhance the credibility of their testimony. A third gentleman, a medical man of the United Presbyterian Church, second to none in sagacity and humanity, has told me that the evidence would not have hanged a cat in a Civil Court! Mr Macmillan now keeps a small stationer's shop in 113 Renfield Street, Glasgow. Will some of my kind-hearted readers remember the old minister and his shop? Soon after the termination of the Cardross case, a testimonial was set on foot for Dr Robert Buchanan, and the opulent Free Churchman in Cardross gave £500.

† See "Scotsman" May 31st, 1866.

‡ Anxious as I always am to say something favourable of public men, especially ministers, I am sorry to be compelled to assert that this Dundee oracle is reported by those who best know him to resemble his Glasgow brother in some unamiable respects: he is apt to be an accuser of his brethren, and has yet to learn the duty of Christian forgiveness. My information is derived from two professional gentlemen of high standing, in Forfarshire,—one of them a Churchman, the other a United Presbyterian,—while a third authority, a member of his own church, corroborates their testimony. The reverend gentleman still bears the scars of Hugh Miller's thrusts.

arts of "word-catching and hair-splitting."* Among the Glasgow United Presbyterians, a few ministers and elders cordially responded to the invitations, and joint meetings were held for prayer and conference. In the following April and May, the matter was taken up by the Supreme Church Courts, and after being constantly before them for six years, it has been remitted to congregations for consideration. Any conjecture as to the result would be premature, and perhaps mistaken.†

Let me now ask—what is the condition of the Establishment? Is it stationary, or progressive, or retrograding? No person cognisant of its history since 1843 can fail to be struck with its comparative life, vigour, and prosperity. At the Disruption it sustained a severe blow. Of its ministers, confessedly the ablest, the most popular in the pulpit, and the most formidable in debate, had forsaken its communion; its churches were desolate; the new ministers were frequently men who, from want of practice or other unfavourable causes, had become unacceptable and unprofitable preachers; the whole staff of foreign missionaries had cast in their lot with the Disruptionists; everything betokened disaster and despondency. In 1842 the General Assembly had abrogated the obnoxious Act of 1799, forbidding the admission of ministers of other denominations to the pulpit; but in 1843 this act was restored, to be again repealed in 1863. Dates are, as I have often found, very significant. The Non-Intrusionists, though numerically triumphant in the General Assembly, did not abolish this offensive Act till 1842, when the Disruption was imminent. In the same year, they condemned Patronage. The Central Board for vindicating the rights of Dissenters, resolved not to reciprocate the exchange of pulpits; but Dr Wardlaw, Dr Brown, and Dr Alexander, to their honour, dissented. In 1843, the General Assembly re-

* A learned counsel who is well informed respecting the tactics of the Free Church leaders, assures me that the Edinburgh spokesman has recently refused to be dragged through the mire by his Glasgow and Dundee friends.

† My readers will remember that in the year 1863 the majority of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod so far modified their distinctive tenets as to enable them to appoint a Union Committee. There was great intimacy between the late Dr Symington and the Wise Man of the West. The memorable Reformed Presbyterian Disruption took place in Glasgow, in Dr Symington's church, a few days before the meeting of the Free General Assembly, when the proposals for Union were first mooted.

stored the Act, but it was again abrogated in 1863, on the motion of Sheriff Barclay, who was heartily supported by Major Baillie and the late Sheriff Arklay, the son-in-law of Dr Cæsar Malan of Geneva. Does not this prove the wholesome action of laymen in Church Courts?* Lord Aberdeen's Scottish Benefices Act, passed in 1843 to prevent unpopular settlements, has not proved a success; and in 1869, the Assembly, by a majority of 193 to 88, resolved to petition Parliament for the abolition of Patronage. Indeed, the proceedings of the recent Assemblies have borne a strong resemblance to those of the Assemblies before 1843, except that the Church has not defied the Civil Courts.

A comparison between the votes of the Assemblies before and after the Disruption proves that the latter have pronounced more decisively in favour of popular rights. In 1841, just two years before the Disruption, the Anti-Patronage party, led by Dr Cunningham, lost their motion by 133 to 138; and even in 1842, the last Assembly in which the Non-Intrusion party took a share, Patronage was condemned only by 216 votes against 147. Look now at the Assemblies since the Disruption. In 1867, on a motion to re-appoint a Committee with the view of recommending some further modification of Patronage, an amendment that the Committee be thanked for their attention, but not re-appointed, was carried by a majority of two; but in the year 1869, when a second Committee reported in favour of what would virtually be the abolition of Patronage, a motion approving of their report, and recommending an application to the Legislature in terms of it, was carried by 193 against 88, — 69 per cent. of the clergy, and 67 per cent. of the laity, voting in favour of it.† Mr Gladstone having naturally inquired what view was taken by the seceding bodies of the movement, Mr Robertson, M.P., answered that nothing could be more gratifying to the Free Church than

* The keenest opponent of this motion was Dr Bisset, of Bourtie, who made the extraordinary assertion that the Scottish Dissenters had lapsed into gross heresy, and gloried in Socinian and worse errors. To treat such an assertion seriously would be a waste of words. Surely the Doctor has been misreported; yet the "Scotsman," in which I found the words, is proverbial for the accuracy of its reports.

† See statements of Dr Macleod and Dr Pirie, in the interview of the Anti-Patronage Deputation with Mr Gladstone, in "Scotsman," June 19th, 1869.

a change of the Law of Patronage. Judging from the principles and professions of the Free Churchmen, Mr Robertson was warranted in his estimate of their sentiments. The "Presbyterian,"* however, a Unionist monthly periodical, edited by Dr Rainy, regards the movement with suspicion, and as likely to interfere with the plans of the compulsory Unionists in the Free Church. Another motion was adopted unanimously by last Assembly, stating that the Assembly entertained "a sincere hope that the time is not now far distant when, with the blessing of the Divine Head of the Church, the various Churches in Scotland which are one in ecclesiastical government, and substantially one in doctrine, may become more closely united in carrying out their common purpose of evangelical work amongst the people of Scotland." How is this met? The "Presbyterian" is "not quite sure what this sincere hope amounts to," and considers it "a pity if they should allow themselves to live under a hallucination." Not content with the expression of doubt and commiseration in July, the "Presbyterian" returns to the unwelcome theme in August. No one can mistake the meaning of the following extract; but it is to be hoped that the writer will recover his temper in due season—Union discussions, the statistics of Dr Gibson's son-in-law, the Rev. Mr Macnaught, nicknamed Dr Begg's "henchman," and the defence of his absent patron, Dr Robert Buchanan, "cruising off the coast of Norway"—having made him fretful as the porcupine. Here it is:—"Dr Macleod was all blandness and courtesy in the presence of the Premier; but he broke out subsequently in an after-dinner speech at his brother's induction, in such a style as to give rise to the suspicion that his courtesy and catholicity were 'from the teeth forward.' It is now attempted to be proved that what Mr Gladstone suggested was not that the older Anti-Patronage Churches might put in a claim to the *whole* of the endowments, but simply that they might allege that they had a title to a *share* of them. Well, well; we shall not quarrel about such a trifle. Let them be neither theirs nor ours, but let us divide them."

In the same article, the "Presbyterian," reverting to the Dis-

* "Presbyterian," July, 1869.

ruption, kindly proffers his aid in refreshing the memory of "the minister of Loudon."* "No, Dr Macleod; we cannot take that in at this time of day. If *you* forget what happened from five-and-twenty to thirty years ago, there are a good many others who remember; and who, we may add, will take good care that the cause they represent shall not suffer in any way through your lack of memory. We are not responsible for the upraising of the Anti-Patronage flag; but now that it is raised, and that in a way which necessitates the going back upon the past, it will not be our fault if the whole truth is not brought to the front. It can do us no harm, but good, to fight our battles over again." I invite the "Presbyterian," and his readers as well as mine, to turn up the ecclesiastical annals of from twenty-five to thirty years ago, and to go back a little farther. Take the year 1833, to which I have already referred. However, I refer to it again for a different purpose. In that year, the Veto Act was first proposed and rejected. Now, Dr Robert Buchanan, in his "Ten Years' Conflict," repeatedly introduces the name of the late learned and honoured Dr M'Crie, whom he justly eulogises. Dr M'Crie was alive in that year, and, though an Original Seceder, took a lively interest in the proceedings of the Established Church.† In that very year he published a pamphlet, the last which fell from his pen, entitled, "What ought the General Assembly to do at the Present Crisis?" And his answer to the question is—"To immediately Petition the Legislature for the Abolition of Patronage." Now, Dr Robert Buchanan informs us how he had qualified himself for writing the "History of the Ten Years' Conflict." He had procured 782 pamphlets relating to the question at issue. Yet he maintains an absolute silence on the production of a master-mind, whose wise and dying counsels might have forestalled ten years of wrangling,

* It may be needful to state that, before the Disruption, Dr Macleod was minister of Loudon, in Ayrshire. After leaving Loudon, he was for several years minister of Dalkeith, before his translation to Glasgow.

† In the Life of Dr M'Crie, formerly quoted, I find this curious passage:—"Butler's Analogy' I learned that I could be friendly to religious establishments, the Protestant constitution of my country, though I never partook of emoluments,—a fact which appears a mere mystery and a miracle to [illegible] and would-be statesmen."—(p. 34.)

misunderstanding, misrepresentation, rancour, and defiance, ending in the Disruption.

Again, take the year 1840, which lies within the assigned period. In that year, Dr Chalmers published a pamphlet, entitled, "What ought the Church and the People of Scotland now to do?" The answer is, "The first thing which, in our estimation, the Church of Scotland ought to do, is to repeal the Veto Law."* Now, a pamphlet on any subject by Dr

* See Dr Chalmers' pamphlet, p. 46. This pamphlet *is not reprinted in his collected works*, but curiosity prompting me to obtain a sight of it, I found it in the Advocates' Library, bound up with several others on the Church question. In another passage Dr Chalmers expresses his feeling of exhaustion :—"The truth is, that in this harassing warfare I am able to hold out no longer." And again, I invite the reader's special attention to the following forcible extract, penned, be it remembered, in 1840 :—"Let the people now, if they so mind, take the case into their own hand, and they have an instrument to work by, which promises to be greatly more effective than the General Assembly hitherto has been with all her doings and all her deputations. The doors of Parliament are still as open, nay, a great deal more so, to their petitions than heretofore. If they think that our ecclesiastical remarks do not go far enough, let them seek what more they would have, and after the full measure of their hearts' wish, to supplement and extend it. They very likely have neither taste nor patience for our *maxima* and *minima*. Let them pitch their own maximum; and whether it be for a negative voice in the shape of a dissent from the nomination of the patron, or a positive voice in the shape of a call or consent to the nomination of the patron, or the removal of the patron from this concern altogether, and that whether by the repeal of Queen Anne's Act, or by the establishment of a universal suffrage in the election of ministers—that is, by the whole male communicants of the congregation. Let them declare their wish, and I will say more—let them have it." These words seem almost prophetic; they are more applicable now than when they were written. The doors of Parliament are open to every intelligent artisan, and a National Church ought to be the People's Church. The volume containing the pamphlet in question is a curious memorial of the times. It contains—1. Three Letters to George Cook, D.D., by James Bryce, D.D. 2. A Speech by the Rev. William Cunningham on the Auchterarder Case. 3. Report of Speeches by the Rev. Dr R. Burns, Rev. Robert S. Candlish, Alexander Earle Monteith, Esq., on the Auchterarder Case. 4. Report of the Speeches of the Rev. Dr Gordon, Mr Buchan of Kelloe, and the Rev. Robert S. Candlish, on the Auchterarder Case. 5. The Present Position of the Church of Scotland explained and vindicated, by a Lay Member of the Church. 6. The Present Conflict of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts examined, by Andrew Gray, A.M., Perth. 7. The Earl of Aberdeen's Correspondence with the Rev. Dr Chalmers and the Secretaries of the Non-Intrusion Committee. 8. Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, by Alexander Dunlop, Esq., Advocate. 9. Letter to the Congregation of St Stephen's, Edinburgh, on the Present Church Question, by the Rev. William Muir, D.D. 10. Letter to the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, by the Rev. Adam Duncan Tait, Minister of Kirkliston. 11. The Scripture Argument for Non-Intrusion considered, by the Rev. James Buchanan, North Leith.

Chalmers, especially on the Veto Law, ought to command attention, for he spoke with authority, and had proposed that law in 1833. Dr Robert Buchanan occupies above 150 pages with the transactions of 1840, yet Dr Chalmers's pamphlet is never mentioned! Was it included in the collection of 782 pamphlets which he had amassed? That he forgot to refer to it is scarcely admissible. What, then, is to be thought of the candour of the historian? Dr Robert Buchanan is a master of complimentary language; he loves euphemisms;* he does not disdain euphuisms; he is prone to convenient omissions. Dr Charteris, in his Life of Dr Robertson, designates Dr Buchanan the "zealous and skilful historian of the Free Church." From such zeal and skill may the Muse of History deliver us!†

Take another fact within the ring-fence of which the "Presbyterian" challenges our survey. The year 1840 was a memorable one in the annals of Edinburgh journalism. In that year the Non-Intrusionists required a journal to advocate their principles: the "Witness" was started. Its very name suggests the name of its editor—"Hugh Miller, the stone-

* I use this word advisedly, and I might have said that Dr Buchanan even descends to flattery. Mr Dunlop, advocate, late M.P. for Greenock—a really estimable and useful representative, though wanting in decision—is highly eulogised in the "Ten Years' Conflict:" he drew up the once famous Protest, the Free Church Magna Charta, which not one in a hundred of its members has ever read, and which, though pronounced unanswered and unanswerable—a convenient alliteration—has been repeatedly answered, though not, of course, to the satisfaction of its author. During the perilous years preceding the Disruption, Mr Dunlop, like Dr Buchanan, was notoriously weak in the knees, and absented himself from critical meetings; and Dr Buchanan confesses that Dr Chalmers thought lightly of the jurists. In the Free Church Assembly of 1866, Dr Buchanan spoke of "that noble document the Protest of the Free Church, drawn up by Alexander Dunlop" (loud cheers, the Doctor pointing to Mr Dunlop who was present), "of whose grave and stately diction, of whose high moral tone, and of whose lucid thought, that document will be a complete memorial so long as the Church survives." (Applause.)—See "Scotsman," May 18th, 1866. The Protest will soon become as obsolete as Gib's "Display" on Nairne's "Reasons of Dissent."

† The "Ten Years' Conflict" is now in the ninth thousand, the publishers being the enterprising Messrs Blackie, who busily push the circulation by employing canvassers to sell it in parts, with or without engravings. There are portraits of Mr Fox Maule (now Earl of Dalhousie), of two members of the Moncreiff family, and of Mr Alexander Dunlop, advocate. The picture of the Presbytery of Dunkeld at the Bar of the Court of Session in 1841 is quite Pickwickian. A little minister, ant, I presume, for Dr Candlish, is placed between two tall ministers, who look policemen stationed to prevent assault or escape. Who was the limner? I present, but I saw none, and Dr Buchanan was not visible.

mason of Cromarty," whose tales in "Chambers's Journal" had been read with avidity by tens of thousands, and whose "Letter to Lord Brougham" won from the discerning mind of Mr Gladstone a high tribute to his masculine and eloquent style.* Hugh Miller was an acquisition of whom any newspaper might have been proud. He ennobled journalism; indeed, he had not been long on the "Witness" before he received and declined a liberal offer from the "Times," which would have more than doubled his income, and lessened his work. He toiled bravely and was a tower of strength to his cause and party; and, being a proud and sensitive man, he refused to submit to dictation from some of the Non-Intrusion chiefs. Forbearance had its limits. Mr Miller dared, as he said, to "call even Church leaders to account" while he continued to occupy "his thankless and exposed post." This the proprietors and ruling spirits of the "Scottish Guardian" could not brook. He had the presumption to question the policy of instituting Free Church schools,† and

* Mr Gladstone's words regarding the host of pamphlets on the Non-Intrusion controversy were:—"Some of them are very long and very able; some of them are very long and not very particularly able; but one of them is particularly able, without being at all long. I refer to the masculine and eloquent Letter of Mr Hugh Miller to the Chancellor of Great Britain." Mr Gladstone was then an Anglo-Catholic, a disciple of Dr Newman and Dr Pusey, and an uncompromising, perhaps an intolerant, champion of all Church Establishments, contending that Dr Chalmers's defence of them contained much objectionable matter. Still, he frankly recognises Hugh Miller's rare intellectual and moral qualities in his vindication of an enlightened Church Establishment,—not for the sake of the aristocracy, or of the wealthy orders, but of the common people of Scotland.

† That the Free Church ministers are anxious to get rid of these schools is notorious, and they are right. That the teachers complain of harsh treatment from the "Deacons' Courts," is equally notorious. From several instances of most harsh and cruel treatment of this useful class of men I select one, which ought to be exposed. About ten years after the Disruption, a Free Mission Church was opened on the south side of Glasgow, and a Mission School was opened in connection with it. An efficient teacher was obtained, who, by hard labour, collected a very large school. After many years of faithful service, he became an applicant for a superior Free Church school in the West End, and was unsuccessful. Without delay he received notice of dismissal from the "Deacons' Court," on the plea that he had applied for another situation. Further, he was informed that the situation would be advertised, and was coolly told that he might send in his application as a candidate. Surprised and mortified by the intimation, he wrote to his minister, whom he supposed to be his friend, and asked if he had been present at the meeting. The minister answered in the affirmative, and added, that he had ap-

contended stoutly for a sound national system.* Here he was seconded by Dr Guthrie, Dr Begg, and the late Dr Gunn of the High School—an accomplished scholar and genial man. The Free Church Education Committee, taking a mean advantage of the Privy Council Act, cancelled his appointment as School Inspector, which had been conferred on him by the Liberal Government. Dr Buchanan, as "Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Free Church," had propounded a rating scheme for Free Church congregations, in order to increase the revenue of the Sustentation Fund. Possibly the scheme was feasible, for its author has a special predilection for finance, and is a respectable accountant. Hugh Miller thought differently. He had been for a short time in a bank at Cromarty, and had formed his own notions on banking—a subject which he had studied thoroughly.† He objected to the rating clause, because it trenched on the liberty of the Christian people. In 1849 the "Ten Years' Conflict" appeared. Among a host of actors whose speeches, writings, and deeds are chronicled and extolled, many of them utterly

proved of the proceedings. The teacher left the school, quitted the profession, and might have starved, if he had not found a situation in a mercantile house. But Nemesis was at hand. It turned out that the congregation had been in illegal possession of the church, and the minister received notice to quit from the Established Church. What a howl was set up in behalf of the ejected minister! How the Established Church was condemned for its harsh seizure of the edifice! How "large-hearted" Free Churchmen were implored to provide funds for the fine new church near the South-side Park! What tells sorely against the belief that the Free Church educationists really wish to elevate the status of their teachers is the fact that they reserve the power of dismissal at three months' warning. The steady decrease of the Education Fund during the last six months is to be regretted for the teachers' sakes. They complain bitterly of their lot. Though nominally responsible to the Deacons' Court, they are at the mercy of the minister, and are miserably remunerated. Hugh Miller was their best friend, as they now know.

* See his acute "Words of Warning to the People of Scotland on Sir Robert Peel's Scotch Currency Scheme" (1844).

† See his sagacious "Thoughts on the Education Question: the Battle of Scotland" (1850). I have had the good fortune to procure these two pamphlets from a friend, who is a vigilant book-hunter. They are not comprised in Hugh Miller's collected works, any more than his inimitable "Two Mr Clarks." The friend is Mr John Carmichael, M.A., known to the general public as an able and accomplished classical scholar; known to his friends as a man of extraordinary and accurate acquirements in general literature and ecclesiastical history, accompanied by power of fluent, terse, and elegant oral expression, probably never surpassed; [illegible]n throughout Scotland by his able and impressive lectures on Southey, Cobbett, Hugh Miller, De Quincey, and other public characters.

obscure, the name of Hugh Miller finds no place!* Here the magnanimity of the man was conspicuous. Dr Cunningham wrote a review of the work in the "Witness;" but it was clumsily executed, and Miller wrote another in its favour, putting forth all the powers of his stately intellect and poetic fancy. His untimely and melancholy death followed. But there was a Nemesis.

"Thy scales, Mortality, are just
To all that pass away."

In 1862 Dr Guthrie pronounced from the Moderator's chair the following eulogium, in the hearing of the Free General Assembly and of Dr Robert Buchanan:—"Talk to the people of Scotland of a name that shed lustre on the Church, and a pen that did her the greatest service, and I will tell you a name that rises in the mind of Scotland's people, and

* I am quite aware that Miller's letter to Lord Brougham is commended, but not a word is said of his "Witness" articles, which were unequalled for clearness of thought, felicity of illustration, and elegance of style. The "Witness" then cost fourpence halfpenny, but many of the leaders were reprinted and sold extensively at one penny each. When the "Witness" was started in 1840, the Non-Intrusion Committee, including Dr Candlish, bound the two proprietors not to advocate Erastianism or Voluntaryism, under forfeiture of a heavy penalty! Hugh Miller's salary began at £200 a-year. In 1845 he became a partner, but refused the proffered gift of £1000, preferring to pay for his share. He and his partner had then a long interview with the Free Church Committee, consisting of Dr Candlish and some Free Church elders, who sat on chairs while Hugh Miller and his partner were kept standing, hat in hand. The interview must have been painful. Mr Miller, on leaving the room, muttered "Very sad." They walked silently along George Street, and up the Mound, into Bank Street, when halting at Bell and Bradfute's shop, he saw in the window a work on natural history, which he bought, remarking—"This is a congenial book; I never should have meddled with newspapers." He perished by his own hand in 1856, and the "Witness" was dropped in 1864. Dr Page, in one of his geological lectures last winter, insinuated that the melancholy act was caused by his inability to reconcile geological science with the Mosaic chronology—an insinuation alike gratuitous and unhandsome. The fact is, a posthumous examination proved his brain to be so diseased that, if he had lived much longer, he must have been bereaved of reason. His surviving partner, Mr Fairly, cherishes his memory with fond affection, and I have talked with compositors who are proud to have worked under him. Dr Chalmers entertained the highest admiration and respect for his genius and worth. His society was much prized by another noble-minded man, Mr Maitland Makgill Crichton, of Rankeillour, whose memory is also blessed by the people of Fifeshire. A kinsman of the noble house of Tweeddale and Lauderdale, an advocate, and a Conservative by birth and connexion, he eagerly espoused the popular side on the Patronage question, sacrificing time, fortune, and strength, as the lieutenant of Dr Chalmers, whose old parish church of Kilmany is not far distant from Rankeillour House.

trembles on their lips: that is the name of Hugh Miller. What man, dead or living—dead or living—did greater—I may say, in some respects, did such great—services for our Church as he? Years have passed since we lost him. Years often abate the sense of loss; but, in my mind, they have only increased the sense of it. . . . . Endeared to myself as a personal friend, associated with myself as an office-bearer in my congregation, I will venture to say that I do not speak from friendship, but speak the mind of Scotland, when I repeat that there is no man, dead or living, to whom our Church owes a greater service than Hugh Miller. . . . . He fell as a sacrifice; he was a martyr, in his own way, to prodigious efforts in the cause of truth, the cause of patriotism, of the Free Church, of civil and religious liberty, and I will also add, to the cause of science, ministering as a priest at the altar of religion."*

But let us return to the position of the Church of Scotland.

There could not be a more marked contrast than between the tall, athletic, patrician figure of the bold, out-spoken Mr M. M. Crichton, who was the best shot in Fifeshire and walked at the rate of six miles an hour, and the plain, homespun, rugged frame of Hugh Miller. After the Disruption, and especially after the death of Dr Chalmers, Mr Crichton strongly censured the diplomacy of Dr Robert Buchanan and the casuistry of Dr Candlish; and because Hugh Miller and he were frequently seen walking together in the suburbs of Edinburgh, a paid Free Church lay secretary besought a friend of Miller to caution him against such dangerous company! Mr M. M. Crichton's original name was Mr Maitland Makgill, by which he was best known; he assumed the name of Crichton after proving his title to the barony. His last public effort was a fitting conclusion to a life of heroic self-sacrifice: he travelled over Scotland, advocating the claims and proclaiming the invaluable services of Dr Adam Thomson, the United Presbyterian minister of Coldstream, when that worthy man, through no fault of his own, fell into pecuniary embarrassment. Mr Crichton was strongly attached to some of the Secession ministers in Fifeshire: he related their conversation and good deeds, while he deplored the careless, if not irreligious, lives of some of the neighbouring parish ministers. In his homeward journey from a day's shooting, he would leave a brace of hares or pheasants at the dissenting minister's manse. In travelling to Kirkcaldy in his gig, he would pick up any wayfaring dissenter and engage in earnest conversation on ecclesiastical questions, of which he was passionately fond. The traveller from Pitlessie to Cupar-Fife will see on the banks of the Eden a fine, life-like statue of this friend of Dr Chalmers, Hugh Miller and Dr Adam Thomson. In Landreth's Life of Dr Thomson will be found a graceful tribute to the noble qualities of the Laird of Rankeillour. His oldest son, now deceased, published in 1857 an anonymous little —— entitled "Spots in the Sun," advocating an approximation to a Liturgy in yterian Church. It is now out of print. I procured a reading of it from n in Glasgow.

Daily Review," May 23rd, 1862.

From a speech of Mr Orr Ewing in the House of Commons I quote the following statements:—"I may add, that I think Patronage was the sole cause of the Disruption in 1843, an event which shall ever be memorable in the annals of our country, as it evinced one of the most noble acts on the part of a body of men that was ever witnessed. It showed the self-sacrifice, by nearly five hundred men, of churches, glebes, manses, and livings—everything that could be held dear—for the maintenance of a great principle. Much has been said on behalf of the Free Church, and I willingly add my testimony in her behalf. She has done noble things. Her efforts with respect to education are beyond all praise. But is there nothing to be said on behalf of the old Church of Scotland? I say, Sir, there is much to be said on behalf of that Church. There never was a Church placed in such trying circumstances as was that Church, and, notwithstanding, has done more good since 1843. . . . . The number of churches belonging to the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland amounts to 493, and those of the Free Church to 872, making 1365 churches. The number of churches belonging to the Church of Scotland amounts to 1250. When the Disruption took place in 1843, the Church of Scotland only had 1193. But since then we have increased that number by 57, and have endowed 131 churches at a cost of not less than £496,560. . . . . We collected, in 1868, no less than £165,093 for educational, missionary, and charitable purposes at home and abroad. For education at home, last year, £22,847; for home missions, £69,397; and for endowment, £40,700."*

To the same effect the Rev. Dr Macleod spoke in his concluding address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland:—"In regard to our 'Schemes,' we have never allowed one to lapse; and not only have we kept up all the original ones, but have added to their number. If, in some districts peculiarly situated, we have become weaker, yet over all other parts of the country we have made successful efforts to keep pace with the increasing population. As one instance of this, I may state, that the large Presbytery to which I have the honour to belong has doubled its numbers since 1843.

* See "Scotsman," July 2nd, 1869.

During the same period, our Church has added more than a tenth, or 140 endowed parishes, to the parochial economy of Scotland, while upwards of half-a-million has been voluntarily subscribed for this purpose, of which our poor clergy contributed about £25,000. Our Home and Foreign Mission Schemes have steadily progressed, and the number of our missionaries has steadily increased. Though we have not drawn upon our money-strength as we ought, partly from want of organization, and partly from the fewer absolute necessities as an Establishment, yet surely the fact does not betoken that deadness and indifference which some of our political enemies presume to charge us with, that we obtained last year, by voluntary contributions, about £170,000, £26,000 of which was for foreign missions."*

During the last twenty years it has been my lot to travel through many Scottish counties, and to reside in several of them. I could name at least scores of small burghs, or large villages, inhabited by a population of less than 2000, with at least three or four Presbyterian Churches, the condition of which may be thus described:—There is an Established Church, endowed, and a congregation of 300 or 400. The United Presbyterian Church may have been planted in the last century; the congregation is somewhat smaller, and the minister's income is insufficient, with no chance of increase, except from endowment. The Free Church is probably the smallest of the three, and is

* See Concluding Address to the General Assembly, pp. 49, 50. Let no reader imagine that I overlook or undervalue the liberal contributions of the United Presbyterian and Free Churches. On examining the "Annual Report of the Home and Foreign Missionary Operations of the United Presbyterian Church" for 1869, I find a legacy by the late Mr Henderson, of Park, amounting to £20,000—a handsome endowment. To enable others to do likewise, there is printed a "Form of bequest to the different funds of the United Presbyterian Church," which is simply an appeal for further endowments. Will the Synod's Treasurer inquire whether the testators have been United Presbyterians, or Churchmen, or adherents of any Church? He will accept the money, and apply it doubtless to some useful purpose. I have also before me the "Report of the Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland" for 1869. The last page contains an "Inventory of the Property of the Free Church of Scotland," ranked under sixteen heads. Christian philanthropists are glad to procure funds from any quarter. A stingy elder pronounced Dr Chalmers, "Godwise a good man, but manwise rather twistical." The 'der admired the Doctor's efforts to procure "a humanised and beautified population" 'e "excavation of moral heathenism," but did not like to part with his money.

composed partly of zealous members who seceded from the Establishment in 1843, and were strongly attached to their minister, who had seceded with them, but who is now deceased. Besides these Churches, there may be a small body of Original Seceders, or of Reformed Presbyterians, rarely exceeding 150. All the four would not compose a congregation of more than 1200. Take, for instance, a town in Fife.* Auchtermuchty is a word unpronounceable by Englishmen on account of its guttural impediments, but the town is worth knowing. In 1851 the population of the parish was 3700; in 1861 it was 3300. What is its ecclesiastical machinery in 1869? An Established Church, a Free Church, and three United Presbyterian Churches! Not one of these five congregations is large, and the town, moreover, I regret to add, is not likely to regain its old prosperity. Two churches would amply suffice for the whole Presbyterian population.†

Few persons of any reflection will deny that, in the main, large congregations are preferable to small ones. Generally their minister is a superior man, the people are more hearty, the finances more prosperous, the agencies more liberally supported, the ordinances more decently maintained, and vital religion not less flourishing. When a congregation is small and poor, both minister and people are ill at ease. Either the pastor's income is scanty and precarious, or it is derived from a general fund, of which he would fain be independent. The people, again, are painfully conscious of their inability to support their minister as they would like.‡ Causes, over which they have no control, damp their spirits, and enfeeble their efforts,—bad seasons, want

* Sir Robert Anstruther, M.P. for Fifeshire, delivered an animated and effective speech on Patronage in the last General Assembly. In reply to a clergyman who had asserted that, at the election of 1868, the question of Patronage had been hardly raised, he advised his reverend friend to stand for a Scottish county, and to address meetings in the open air at Auchtermuchty. Sir Robert alluded to a severe handling which he had received there, when his seat was threatened by Mr Boyd Kinnear, who must now seek for another constituency.

† Chancing to mention this fact to a west country friend, he referred to a case even worse. Sanquhar, with a population of 1600, contains an Established Church, a Free Church, and two United Presbyterian Churches. I am informed that Ardrossan, with a population of 6776 in 1861, contains at least two Established Churches, three Free, three United Presbyterian, besides two Evangelical Unionist.

‡ Laymen who are ignorant of the demands made on the time, labour, and purse of any minister, Established or Dissenting, who performs his duty faithfully and

of employment, dull trade, removals of families to other parishes, extensive emigration, the ravages of disease, the settlement of a popular minister in a neighbouring church, and, not unfrequently, the translation of their own minister to a more inviting field of labour amidst a larger population. Neither does a small church afford any security for two elements so desirable in a Christian church—purity and concord. Contrary to what might be fairly expected, heresies and scandals break out as often in the small flocks as in the large, while strife and contention are certainly quite as prevalent and irrepressible. In fact, the fiercest congregational feuds, which have travelled from the lowest to the highest of the Church Courts, have originated in small churches, in which factious individuals have felt their power for mischief, and have used it without stint or scruple. In larger communities, such sowers of sedition are easily overawed, if not by persuasion and entreaty, at least by the conviction of their own insignificance, or by the force of numbers. Woe to the poor minister who is doomed to fight the battle of life with a small struggling congregation, rent asunder by envy and malice! Farewell to all pleasure in his ministry, to the prosecution of theological study, to the comfortable visitation of his flock! His hopes of happiness are fled; a change of scene has become necessary for his peace of mind; he quits his native soil, to forget or hide his sorrows in a foreign land. His persecutors, destitute of shame or compunction, coolly apply to the Presbytery for a supply of preachers, from whom they may choose a fit successor, and the Presbytery, in almost every case, accedes to the application. How many clerical biographies of this kind remain unwritten! How many worthy pastors, learned, meek, devout, forbearing, forgiving, have gone down to their graves, the scapegoats of implacable tormentors in small congregations! How many ministers, noways superior in any of the qualifications for their office, have enjoyed a life of com-

sympathetically, had better ponder the following words:—"Three distinguished professional men left Edinburgh for some distance in connexion with the discharge of their respective duties. The medical man, for this one visit, received a fee of fifty guineas; the advocate, a fee of one hundred guineas; and the minister of the Gospel received—all that he expected—the price of his return ticket." (See Dr ⁻ ng's Preface to the Rev. James Macnaught's "What Voluntary Liberality has and left undone for the Free Church of Scotland.")

parative comfort and unmistakable usefulness, principally because their lot was cast in a congregation strong in numbers, hearty in sentiment, united in effort, and presenting a firm front against the demon of discord! Let any gainsayer empanel a jury of sons of Seceder Manses, and take their verdict.*

I can conceive that my readers may have accompanied me in my narrative, and have partially approved of my criticism, but they may have become somewhat impatient to hear the remedy. Their impatience is natural and warrantable; and I proceed to propound the outline of a scheme, which appears to me feasible, and which merits, I trust, at least, a candid examination.

While the exercise of private judgment is the right of every man, who is responsible, not to his fellow-men, but to God, for the formation of his convictions, it by no means follows that he is entitled or bound to act independently of the will and consent of others. If this were the case, society could not exist; combined action would be impossible; law, civilisation, progress, would be mere fictions. Society presupposes the individuals composing it to surrender a portion of their rights, opinions, feelings, prejudices, passions, for the general welfare. The support of life is the strongest human instinct. Food is essential to life; yet the famishing thief is arrested and punished. The protection of property is an instinct nearly as strong; yet the good of society demands that theft shall not be

* See a harrowing picture of the hardships of United Presbyterian ministers, drawn by the Rev. Dr Macfarlane, the hagiologist of his Church. See also a companion picture, by the Rev. Mr Macnaught, of the Free Church. Readers of the "Scotsman" must have read with surprise and pain the behaviour of a United Presbyterian congregation in Stirling—the birthplace of Secession—towards their learned and estimable minister, the Rev. Dr Gilfillan, author of a standard work on the Christian Sabbath, and elder brother of the Rev. George Gilfillan of Dundee—both sons of a venerable minister of Comrie. In 1863, a troublesome clique in another United Presbyterian congregation, the "Erskine Church," Stirling, sought to compel the Rev. Mr Steedman, the minister, to resign, because it thought "his ministerial usefulness was at an end!" The case came before the Synod, which very properly supported Mr Steedman; but the clique seceded, and the Presbytery ordained a new minister to please it. Several members of the Presbytery rendered themselves conspicuous in the Synod by their repeated unmannerly interruptions of Dr William Peddie. ("Scotsman," May 25th, 1865.) While repudiating clerical domination, I recoil from shabby pecuniary recognition of clerical services, especially in old age, at the close of a faithful and exemplary career. Dr Macfarlane's sermon does ample justice to the dead: his eulogies of the living are perhaps overstrained.

punished by the owner of the stolen goods. Every foot-passenger is entitled to the use of the pavement; but if he refuses to keep to the right hand or the left, to conform as the Police-law requires, he may think himself lucky if he is not pitched over the curb-stone into the street. The turnpike road is public property; yet the coachman or the carter who defies the rules of the road may count on having the whip applied sharply to his ears. Free trade teaches the axiom that every one is at liberty to sell his labour in the dearest market; yet who questions the propriety of fixing the amount of hackney-coach fares, to prevent exorbitant charges, when a torrent of rain drenches the streets, or when the arrival of an excursion train tempts a cabman to exact double fares? There is probably not an intelligent citizen alive who does not object to some imperial, parochial, or municipal law. Does he therefore break it, or remove to another parish or a foreign country? Far from it. He knows that he might go farther and fare worse, and he remains quiet, hoping for better times. This is the practice adopted in civil affairs.*

But can it be applied to the Church? Let us survey our position calmly and dispassionately. I place myself in any part of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, or any considerable Scottish town. I am conducted into three churches on a given Sunday. Three services are held, three sermons are preached, and, unless special intimations are made, I am utterly unable to tell whether these churches belong to one denomination or to three. Twenty years ago,† the difference might have been detected; but now it is impossible. Why,

* A paternal uncle of mine, who was a staunch Seceder, and a believer in the perpetual obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant, lived and died near Biggar. His favourite theological author was Ralph Erskine. He had a strong aversion to political agitation. A neighbour, of a more speculative turn, sometimes lent him the London "Examiner," then edited by the sarcastic Albany Fonblanque. My uncle, who never dreamt that the indignation and sorrow of journalists are sometimes affected, said—"The man who writes these articles must be very miserable; every week he finds fault with something. Now, I would advise him and all who are not pleased with the constitution and the Government just to (y)emigrate." A truly primitive and peaceable counsel, if inveterate grumblers would only follow it!

† For the instruction of those exclusive and miserable ecclesiastics whose delight seems to consist in perpetuating or inventing causes of strife, I shall relate what

then, ought not these three denominations to unite? Some one will ask—On what basis? What are to be the articles of agreement? Is the Established Church to be stripped of its endowments, and to be levelled down; or, as Mr Gladstone suggested to Dr Norman Macleod, are the two rival denominations to share the endowments after the abolition of Patronage? The scheme which I humbly venture to submit to the people of Scotland, is as follows:—Let the Establishment retain its endowments, and let the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church continue to dispense their respective funds, according to their pleasure, but let the three join hands and be ONE CHURCH. The immediate consequence of the union would be the conviction that there are hundreds of churches quite superfluous. Within less than twenty years the number of churches would be adjusted to the wants of the population. Adding together the churches in and belonging to the Established, Free, United Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, and Original Secession denominations, we find the number to exceed 2700. Of these, 800 might be easily spared. Estimating the annual cost of each of these at £300, we have an annual saving of £240,000. Computing the Presbyterian population of Scotland at 2,500,000, each of the remaining 1900 ministers would have the oversight of 1315 souls—a burden by no means excessive for a competent and conscientious pastor. The surplus might be devoted to supplementing small stipends, to erecting new churches in poor and densely popu-

happened in 1846. In that year the Baptist Churches in the Midland counties of England were split up by the Plymouth Brethren, and Mr George Dawson's incipient rationalism did not mend matters. A very eminent Baptist minister, still living, was in a company of Baptists, and chanced to make some disparaging remark regarding an absent individual, when he was checked by a lady, who exclaimed: "Oh! you forget he is a Baptist." "All fools are," answered the minister sturdily. He said to me—"I am so disgusted with the wretched divisions amongst us that I am almost compelled to seek refuge in the Church of England,"—after a pause he added—"But I should be as badly off then." Speaking of the United Presbyterians, he asked if they were mostly Trinitarians or Socinians. I assured him that there was not a Socinian among them, and referred to their Testimony or Confession of Faith, to which he replied, "We have Confessions in England, but they are subscribed by men who do not believe them." When he was in London, he always strove to hear a sermon from Dr Hamilton, and on my recommendation he sent his two sons, now rising Baptist ministers, to a Scottish university. Indeed I never heard a sermon in England against Presbyterianism.

lated districts, to furthering home missions, and to promoting the higher education. I am convinced that more than 800 congregations might be suppressed with advantage, and thus leave a larger surplus than £240,000. Moreover, the teinds are not yet exhausted. What a munificent sum for promoting Christianity, university education, and philanthropy would be easily obtained, if the members of Presbyterian Churches would, without sacrificing their own convictions on matters of petty and temporary importance, make some allowance for the equally conscientious convictions of their brethren,—even supposing these to be persons of a weaker capacity! Of course, the life-interests of superfluous ministers would be carefully respected: nobody would be wronged; everybody would be benefited. The ministers would have larger and healthier congregations; and these, again, would enjoy the services of abler and more efficient ministers, of whom many more than at present would belong to the higher ranks of society. It is a shallow and pernicious error that the poorest ministers are the purest,—witness the ignorant, starving, and coarse clergy in Wales and Cumberland, as pourtrayed by Conybeare,* himself the son of a Welsh Dean. Dr Hill Burton, himself an Episcopalian, has justly observed that the Erskines owed much of their popularity to two causes, which always exercised great influence on the Scottish people—they were orthodox in their doctrine, and they were of gentle birth, being connected, on the father's side, with the Earls of Mar, and on the mother's, with the ancient kings of Scotland.† I may remind the reader in passing, that, so far was it from the intention of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine to abandon his paternal charge, that his expulsion was, humanly speaking, a pure accident. The Synod of Perth and Stirling had, by a majority of six, condemned his famous sermon; he had appealed to the General Assembly; and the Assembly had appointed the Moderator to thank the Synod, and to rebuke and admonish Mr Erskine from the Chair. His patrician blood was fired by his treatment, and, before leaving the

* See "Church in the Mountains," "Edinburgh Review," 1856; also in his Essays. The article contains a most interesting account of the Episcopal Church in Wales, and of the Calvinistic Methodists, apparently fair to both and favourable to neither; showing that coarse, ill-bred, indolent Churchmen engender illiterate, fanatical, and intolerant Dissenters. (See note M., Appendix.)

† See note N., Appendix.

Assembly, he presented a written protest,* which was not permitted to be read. After his departure, the paper was accidentally tossed over the table, and picked up by the Rev. James Naismith, of Dalmeny, whom Mr Adam Gib, then a student and an eye-witness of the proceedings, styles "a fiery man in the corrupt measure of that time." What followed has been fully detailed by Dr M'Kerrow. "Retract, not a hair's-breadth!" was the maxim of both parties, and Erskine was lost to the Church of Scotland. Any one acquainted with England need not be reminded that many of the most laborious and self-denying clergymen subsist on their patrimony, and spend the larger part of their professional income on congregational and charitable purposes. More than forty years ago, Sir William Hamilton exposed, in the "Edinburgh Review," the pampering of the few, and the beggarly starving of the many, in the Church of England. Although a greater equality of incomes would be just and desirable, I suspect that his philosophical rival, John Stuart Mill, has pointed out an unsuspected cause of the smallness of many stipends: "The clerical, like the literary profession, is frequently adopted by persons of independent means,† either from religious zeal,‡ or for the sake of the honour or usefulness which may belong to it, or for a chance of the higher prizes which belong to it, and it is now principally for this reason that the salaries of curates are so low."§ If men of independent means are willing to discharge the duties of the pastorate efficiently and gratuitously, they offer a good guarantee for their purity of motive; but the supply cannot be counted upon, and Scotland offers no rich bishoprics, deaneries, or canonries. In the event of a vacancy occurring in an Established Church, the congregation might choose the best obtainable probationer or minister from any of the

* See M'Kerrow's History, Part I. chap. i.

† Conybeare states that in twelve adjacent parishes well known to him the total ecclesiastical income of the incumbents was £4200, and the total private income £6400. Sydney Smith first drew public attention to the ample private means of so many English clergymen. (Conybeare's "Ecclesiastical Economy," p. 182.)

‡ Froude, who cannot be suspected of undue partiality for any Church, estimates the apostolic clergymen as one in fifty, and adds, that rare as they are, their lives are so holy and noble, that "they are not only enough for the salt of their class, but for the salt of the world too."

§ See Political Economy, vol. i., p. 476, Fifth Edition.

other Presbyterian denominations. Some eminent ministers in the Establishment seem to prefer churches in which they are paid mainly by seat-rents and collections; whereas some Free and United Presbyterian ministers might prefer a settlement in a parish church. This scheme cannot be condemned, if it be practicable without sacrificing religious convictions.

Take the Free Church, as the largest Dissenting body.* At the Disruption such a union as that now before the Church Courts would have been held preposterous; and as to its ministers having any intercourse with the Establishment, which was "Erastian," "Residuary," "Apostate," the thing was out of the question. That fanatical feeling has now passed away, and the Churches now live in comparative harmony. Since last meeting of the General Assemblies, it has been noticed, as a "sign of the times," that the Rev. Dr Hanna, formerly minister of Free St John's, preached on a Sunday forenoon in the parish church of Athelstaneford, and that on the same day Dr Walter Smith, of Glasgow, preached in the parish church of Moffat.† While the Free Church ministers have shut their pulpits against ministers of the Establishment, some of them have been quite ready to open them to nondescript persons, of whose orthodoxy and moral antecedents they could have little trustworthy evidence,—persons engaged in itinerant revival services, who were not amenable to Church discipline. It is but fair to state that the United Presbyterians have shown commendable caution

* Mr Orr Ewing, M.P., in his speech formerly quoted, sets down the number of Free Church congregations at 872; but Dr Robert Buchanan, who is a competent authority on this subject, estimates them at upwards of 900, and the higher number strengthens my argument.

† See "Scotsman" July 6th, 1869. Since the above was in type, I have observed the following paragraph:—'ANOTHER SIGN OF THE TIMES.'—Lately, Dr Pulsford, of Glasgow (Congregationalist), was to have preached in Kirn Established Church (Rev. James Hay's), but was prevented from doing so by missing a steamer. Dr Hanna, of Edinburgh, who was in the Free Church Manse, Dunoon, on being applied to by Mr Hay, consented to preach, and gave one of his thoughtful and telling discourses to a large audience."—"Scotsman" Sept. 15th, 1869. During the recent repairs in Dr Glover's Church, the worthy pastor was seen worshipping in Dr Andrew Thomson's, Broughton Place. During his residence in the country, Mr E. S. Gordon, M.P., Dean of Faculty, a Churchman, late Lord Advocate, frequently attends the Free Church in Penicuik, though the Established Church is within five minutes' walk of it.

in associating with such persons, while the Original Seceders and the Reformed Presbyterians have uniformly stood aloof from them. The Erskines would not have tolerated them for a moment. Evangelistic services may be, and are, extremely useful, if conducted by men of ascertained fitness for the work.* But think of young women, members of a Christian Church, leaving a minister of ripe age and consistent piety, and flocking to consult about the state of their souls a quondam prize-fighter or circus clown !†

Fifty years hence, or perhaps sooner, such announcements will excite curiosity and sorrow—curiosity regarding the points of difference between the denominations,—sorrow that the mere exchange of Christian courtesy should have been noticed as a "Sign of the Times." Within the last eight years, the ministers of the Established‡ and Free Churches in Pollokshaws exchanged pulpits at one of the Sunday diets of worship. The Free Presbytery of Paisley immediately took up the case; and, if the offending Free brother was not reprimanded for his conduct, he was warned that such exchange

* All those Edinburgh citizens who have reached middle age remember the deeply impressive open-air preaching of the late Rev. Henry Wight. He had been an advocate, and was, if I am not mistaken, the nephew of Lord Hermand, one of the judges. An awful domestic tragedy, to which I merely refer, impelled him to become a preacher. He joined the Congregationalists, and though he became pastor of a church, he devoted much of his time to evangelistic labours, and to the promotion of abstinence from intoxicating drinks. I never heard his equal as a street preacher. His figure was tall, massive, and imposing; his countenance was florid, frank, and benignant; his voice was deep, mellow, and sonorous; his sermons were simple, earnest, and pathetic. He commonly pitched his moveable pulpit in the evening in Hunter Square, or in the High Street, and always gathered a large concourse of people, by whom he was much respected. When the teetotallers held a series of day meetings for a week in Parliament Square, he was the leading speaker, and many advocates who had known him at the bar hung in the outskirts of the crowd, and seeing them he said, "There are many of my old friends who ought to have been still in the Parliament House, but who became the victims of drunkenness, and are now in their graves."

† An eminent D.D., of the United Presbyterian Church, has informed me that an evangelist of the Free Church, a sort of rustic Boanerges, recently held forth, at a revival meeting, thus:—Oh ! my friends, I wish I could get into hell. Wouldn't I scatter the devils !" Not many years ago, a revivalist of higher pretensions, who was invited to address the Free Church Assembly, improved his opportunity to rebuke the ministers for their unfaithfulness. Scotland is not Wales or Cornwall.

‡ The Established minister was the Rev. Mr Turnbull, now of Dailly, successor to the Rev. Mr Giffen, of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh.

must not be repeated.* Will any Free Church Presbytery deal with Dr Hanna for his brotherly act? Dr Hanna is not the Rev. Neil Brodie of Pollokshaws. The most accomplished and scholarly divine in the Free Church,† an eloquent preacher, and a practical philanthropist, he has preserved his independence of thought and action. Disregarding the restrictions of sect, he preached regularly for Dr W. L. Alexander, when that distinguished minister was away in Palestine. How gladly should we hail more "Signs of the Times!" In the excellent Life of an excellent man I read a letter which may be profitably pondered by bigots of every evangelical Church. The late Rev. Dr Robertson, of Edinburgh University, wrote thus in August after the May Disruption of 1843:—"You are by this time, I presume, a little anxious to know whether I have attended Divine service with the Free congregation on the hill-side. The truth, then, is, that I have just returned from their English service. Had there been Divine service in the parish church, I should, of course, have worshipped in connection with the Establishment. . . . . If my conduct in attending the service of the Free Church should be reflected on, either by the *ins* or *outs*, I feel persuaded that I can answer any charge that may be preferred, to the satisfaction of my own conscience, and, indeed to the satisfaction of all who are not under the one-sided influence of party spirit. . . . . In the circumstances in which I was placed it was my duty to worship my Maker in conjunction with my fellow-sinners." Dr Charteris adds, that "the leaders of the Free Church had publicly exhorted their adherents not to countenance the worship of God in connection with the Established Church, even when there was no other sanctuary within their reach."‡ I have

* Desiring to be accurate in my account of this transaction, I wrote to a United Presbyterian minister, near Paisley, for information. We had not met for thirty years, but he politely answered:—"I have forgotten in what year it happened, neither do I remember what was the precise nature of the Free Presbytery's deliverance in the case. All I can say with confidence respecting it is, that it was condemnatory of Mr Brodie's conduct."

† Some months ago, the Skye correspondent of the "Inverness Courier," who was a fellow-student of Dr Hanna in Glasgow University, stated that, among a band of youthful students, all of whom have achieved fame, William Hanna was the most universally accomplished.

‡ It ought to be kept in mind that Dr Robertson, then "Mr Robertson, of Ellon," had been a conspicuous opponent of the Non-Intrusionists in the General

already referred to the testimony of Mr Mackintosh, the Earnest Student. In 1847 he was residing at Lasswade; and, in answer to a Free Church minister who had remonstrated with him against occasional attendance in an Established Church, he wrote a long and well-reasoned letter containing this passage: "Why, then, should we treat them differently from any other of the evangelical bodies of Seceders and Dissenters from us, and put a ban on their churches and their pulpits? . . . . The majority of the present Established ministers never held our doctrines on the disputed points, and consequently never lapsed from them, and are, therefore, entitled to be treated as conscientious Seceders."*

Scruples of conscience are always entitled to respect, and must be tenderly handled, even when they are deemed groundless. The United Presbyterians have attained an honourable rank in the roll of British Churches, and their position has been fairly won. I have already shown how they are scarcely entitled to boast of consistency; but in this shifting age who is consistent in all respects, except those who neglect the apostolic practice, to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good?" Deeply regretting the necessity of recurring

Assembly. I recollect his first appearance there; a short, thick-set man, with a grave expression, and a strong Aberdonian accent. His speeches displayed great argumentative ability, and a toleration of contradiction unhappily rare in those times. One night, when he was complimenting Dr Candlish on his logical acuteness, an Edinburgh lawyer sitting near me, noted for his dislike to the Non-Intrusionists, muttered, "There, again, he has begun to praise Candlish—just the old story." I may be permitted to give another reminiscence of Dr Robertson. In 1860 he attended the Social Science Congress in Glasgow University, when a lengthened discussion took place on Scottish National Education. Dr Guthrie had caused boundless merriment by telling how he had found in Forfarshire three poorly-attended schools in one district, and how he had advised the schoolmasters to arrange, so that while each in his turn should teach all the scholars, his two colleagues should go a-fishing, like Dr Guthrie himself. Dr Robertson's answer was very happy and characteristic:—"Dr Guthrie has told us of the schoolmasters, and I have no doubt that if he had preached on Sabbath, the other ministers might have closed their churches." I never saw Dr Robertson again. He died on the 2nd of December in the same year. Among his last words to Professor Miller, his medical attendant, were, "As to Free Church and Established Church, I care not. Give me the man that has faith." Professor Miller did not long survive him. Dr Robertson's genuine piety and warmth of heart were not known to the world till Dr Charteris revealed them in his biography.

* See "The Earnest Student," p. 139, Popular Edition.

to these stumbling-blocks, State endowments, I humbly entreat their attention to a plain argument. The Church and the State have been too commonly regarded as radically antagonistic — the Church as the impersonation of all goodness, the State as the embodiment of all evil. While the Church is thus an angel of truth, light, and concord, the State is a demon of falsehood, darkness, and strife. Is this a correct representation? Is the Church so uniformly pure and spotless, or the State so soiled and speckled? Do not the wheat and the tares grow together? Many persons speak of the British State as if it were a heathen Moloch seeking to strangle infant Christianity. If any one should object to the competency of Parliament to give effect to the national wishes, I answer in the words of Dr W. L. Alexander:—"It will not be easy to show why a body, in whose powers of ascertaining truth in all other departments of knowledge the community implicitly confides, should be pronounced helplessly imcompetent in the department of theological truth. . . . Who is to determine what is to be taught for religious truth to the community? There is, no doubt, a difficulty here; but it is one which surely has been immensely exaggerated, both theoretically and practically."* Without adopting Dr Arnold's theory, that in a Christian country, enjoying a Christian constitution, the Church and the State are identical and inseparable,† let us come to close quarters on a practical question. By almost all Voluntaries the extreme expression of the Voluntary dogma has been surrendered as indefensible in theory and unworkable in practice, as the Joint-Committee of Union have proved. There remains the question of endowments, which is to be an "open question." This phrase is imported from Parliament, and is applied to those questions of subordinate importance on which Cabinet Ministers are permitted to vote on opposite sides. The Ballot was a famous "open question" in the Cabinet of Lord Melbourne. Following this analogy, an open question of endowments leaves each minister and con-

* See Alexander's "Life of Wardlaw," pp. 385, 386.

† Dr Arnold, writing to Chevalier Bunsen, asks this pertinent question:—"Now I want to know what principles and objects a Christian State can have, if it be really Christian, more or less than those of the Church." A thoughtful question, which I should like to see intelligibly answered.

gregation free to accept or refuse them, otherwise open question is a complete misnomer. If it be answered that an open question is meant to be used theoretically, I reply that a theory which debars action is not a theory at all, and is unworthy of the name. To try to make an extreme Voluntary a convert by a few sentences, would be a presumptuous and useless task. Deep convictions are formed slowly, silently, almost unconsciously; they are renounced by the same process: the stony ground hearers are easily convinced, but their impressions take no root, and bring forth no fruit. On the origin of Scottish Teinds, it is needless to enlarge. Originally they seem to have belonged to the Culdees,* whose doctrines were much akin to those of Scottish Evangelical Presbyterians. Gradually, however, the Culdees, the apostles of Christianity and education in Scotland, were corrupted by the Popish ecclesiastics, who disliked their pure faith and pious lives, until they were at length compelled to bow their necks to the Papacy. The nation renounced the Roman Catholic faith as not only incompatible with Scriptural truth, but with good civil government.† The Reformation transferred the Teinds to the Protestant Church, which has been established, with a brief interruption, to our day. The larger portion, however, of the original endowments was seized at the Reformation by the Protestant nobles. The annual value of the Teinds is not large,‡

* See Dr Jamieson's learned "History of the Culdees of Iona," a lonely island now belonging to the Duke of Argyll. When I visited Iona in 1866, I found an Established Church and a Free Church amid a poor population of 600 souls. My visit forcibly impressed on my mind the necessity of a legal provision for supplying religious ordinances to the poor Highlanders, and the superfluousness of having two churches on such an island. The revenue derived from Iona by the Duke of Argyll, the proprietor, is only £300.—(See Note O, Appendix.)

† Adam Smith, who cannot be suspected of bigotry or intolerance, says:—"The Church of Rome is the most formidable combination that ever was formed against the authority and security of civil government, as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind."—"Wealth of Nations," Book V., cap. 1, Part III., Art. 3.

‡ Their value is fully £60,000 a-year less than before the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846. In 1848 Mr Cobden stated "that he had always said that the clergy would be the only ultimate losers by the repeal of the Corn Laws." I believe there was never a single clerical petition from Scotland or England against the repeal. What other class would have been spoiled so meekly? Some shallow economists fancy that an English Rector with £1000 scandalises the Church. Conybeare proves that the sum is merely nominal. The repeal of the

nor is it drawn from the national Exchequer, and surely no ruthless spoiler would seek to confiscate it for secular purposes. Why not make it available for the spread of the common faith of Scottish Presbyterians?

Every writer of history has experienced most difficulty in recounting recent transactions. Thus few politicians can now tell what has happened to the Irish Church. She has been disestablished; that is purely formal; but she has been only partially disendowed. She is still one of the richest Churches in Christendom. She has retained the munificent sum of seven-and-a-half million pounds sterling, besides the ecclesiastical buildings and schools absolutely free. If the clergy consent to commute their life-interests at 12 per cent., the Church will enjoy £350,000 a-year in perpetuity, and under her own control, with churches and schools as a free gift. By reducing the number of parishes from 1500 to 1200, each of the clergy may receive £250 a-year, independent of voluntary contributions from their congregations, while a surplus of £50,000 a-year will be left for Bishops and intermediate dignitaries. And yet the Episcopalians form only 600,000 souls, a half of the Protestants, and one-tenth of the whole population of Ireland! Surely they have retained a decent provision as compared with the annual value of the Scottish Teinds.* Very few judicious Scottish Presbyterians defended the late Irish Church as she existed before her disestablishment. She had made no effort to reform herself, as the Church of Scotland is now doing. Everybody must have read with astonishment a long list of Irish Bishops who had

Corn Laws has caused a fall of 10 per cent. in the tithes' rent-charge, so that the £1000 is reduced to £900. Deduct the poor-rates, amounting to £130 a-year; the way rates, amounting to £15; the cost of collection, amounting to £34; £100 for a curate; and the actual income is £625. If the Rector is a man of ordinary liberality, he must subscribe annually to the National School, the County Hospital, the Diocese Training School, the Christian Knowledge Society, the Missionary Society, and the local societies, besides excusing several of his poorer parishioners the payment of their tithes. Thus another slice of £100 is taken from his revenues, and his nett income is £525. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer steps in and appropriates £29, the income-tax on £1000, leaving £496 to the Rector. (See Conybeare's "Ecclesiastical Economy," pp. 174, 175.)

* See Ireland under the New Church Act, by the Rev. Dr Knox, p. 10.

left enormous fortunes.* In 1864 I spent some days in Londonderry, and was conducted over the maiden city by one of the Presbyterian ministers. The bulk of the middle class of the inhabitants were Presbyterians, with six or seven congregations, some of them very large; the lower classes were chiefly Roman Catholics; the Episcopalians, consisting mostly of the upper class, formed one congregation of about 400 hearers. The Bishop had at least £6000 a-year, with a palace; the Dean £2000; and the Curate a paltry sum which I am unable to state; yet I should have met with worse instances in the south of Ireland. If the Presbyterians, who form the backbone of Irish industry and loyalty, had been left to enjoy their well-earned pittance, the bill would have been more worthy of support; but it leaves each of their congregations only £40 a-year.† Since it has passed, Cardinal Paul Cullen has been giving the Government a foretaste of his insolent demands. Not content with the handsome provision for Maynooth, schools and colleges must be endowed and placed under the exclusive control of the Roman Catholic hierarchy! Enraged as every lover of freedom must be at the spectacle of such ingratitude, it is consoling to see the enlightened Roman Catholic laymen protesting in favour of mixed education. Is Ireland to be an appanage of the Papacy? Is the Pope to wield in Ireland an

* Most of the English Bishops die poor. Their average income is about £5000 a-year, which does not go very far to support a house in their diocese and another in London, not to speak of the numerous subscriptions to new churches, which every Bishop must give. Of course, Presbyterians think that the provincial Bishops ought not to reside in London at all, and I suspect that some of the Bishops themselves hold the same opinion. I resided for three years in the diocese of Chester, of which the late saintly Dr Graham was Bishop, the worthy successor of Dr Sumner, and a man of truly apostolic character, equally valued by all true Christians, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. When far advanced in years, he preached frequently and impressively without notes. His generosity was so indiscriminate that he was often victimised by rogues and impostors. Although he had many livings in his gift, he, to avoid the charge of nepotism, bought an advowson for his son. The present Bishop was once a fellow-student of the Rev. Thomas Binney, under the learned Dr Pye Smith.

† Since the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Presbyterians have taken vigorous steps to raise a fund which shall yield to each minister £100 annually, and they are right. If the scheme which I propose be adopted, every Scottish minister ought to be provided with a minimum stipend, and a suitable district, that is, a parish. Scotland already possesses a large Ecclesiastical Fund in the form of Teinds, which are not yet exhausted.

authority which would be scorned in France or in Spain, or even within the very precincts of the Vatican? All lovers of free speech must have been alarmed at the recent efforts put forth by Irish Roman Catholic mobs to prevent Mr Murphy from opening his mouth in English halls hired by himself. This individual is confessedly coarse and truculent, but there are higher interests involved than those of courtesy and refinement. When he was advertised to lecture in a town, the Mayor, moved by petitions from Roman Catholic fanatics, would forbid Mr Murphy to address his friends, because a breach of the peace might follow. From whom? Not from the Protestants, but from the Roman Catholics. If they cannot hear a discussion without breaking the law, let them be punished, or stay away. Such preposterous demands from the priests of a sect which contributes so much to disturb the peace and to increase the demoralisation of our British towns, must stagger even those who seem to forget that we still enjoy a Protestant Constitution.* As Froude forcibly remarked of

* In the 18th Report of the Scottish Reformation Society, for the years 1868-69, I met with this instructive statement:—"It appears that, in the 12 convict prisons in England, no fewer than 1,426 convicts at the above date were Roman Catholics. That is to say, 18·6 per cent., or nearly one-fifth of all the convicts in the English convict prisons, were made up of Romanists—a vast proportion, considering their total number in Britain. If we turn to the county and borough gaols of England, we find that of 129 of those prisons, 100 are filled less or more with Romanists. The total number of Popish prisoners in such gaols, as exhibited by the return, is 2,783, or 17·9 per cent. of the whole prisoners; that is to say, nearly one-fifth of the prisoners in all the gaols of England are Romanists. Turn to Scotland, and the striking fact comes out that in the prisons there this proportion is even greater. The total number of Romanists in prison in Scotland is 533, 23·4 per cent. of the whole prisoners, or nearly one-fourth. These numbers are out of all proportion to the Romish population of England and Scotland. We cannot tell, from the peculiar way in which the census is taken in these countries, the precise number of Romanists. But they do not form one-tenth of the population. Popery has always begotten and cherished crime; and if a return were made in regard to workhouses, the same result would be found in regard to beggary. This fact in regard to crime comes out very clearly also by examining the number of prisoners in the prisons of Ireland. It will be observed that, at first January last, 2,433 Papists were in prison in that country, while there were only 455 of all other religious denominations, and of no denomination; that is to say, the Romish Church produces of criminals to the county and borough gaols of Ireland, exclusive of the convict gaols in that country, 84·3 per cent. of the whole prisoners, or more than four-fifths, while the Popish population is not more than 3½ to 1 Protestant. Notwithstanding this immense array of 2,433 Popish prisoners in Ireland, in a population of about four and a-half millions, there are 4,742 Popish prisoners in England and Scotland, or nearly twice the number that are in Ireland."

the early Reformers, it is hard to tolerate men who would cut our throats. To tolerate intolerance is the ideal propounded by Coleridge, the poet, yet it is often neither safe nor practicable.*

I have condemned the attempts of the Free Church leaders to set themselves above the civil law; it is fitting that I state and expose the preposterous and disloyal pretensions of Popish ecclesiastics. Dr Moriarty is one of the most influential of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops. Let him speak for himself:—"We must bear in mind that the Catholic (Roman) Church is the rightful owner of all the ecclesiastical property in this country, with the exception of what the Protestant Church has acquired since its separation. There has been no concordat ceding this property to the British Crown, or sanctioning its secularisation. We acknowledge no prescription in this case. The Church does not allow the Statute of Limitations to bar

* In the "Christian World," October 8th, 1869, an English tourist gives the following account of a visit to a Roman Catholic chapel at Killarney:—"The Bishop of Kerry, who lives here in great style, and whom I met the day before riding on a splendid steed, followed by a groom, such as you see in the aristocratic resort of Rotten Row, was present, and took part, with other ecclesiastics, in the gorgeous ceremony of the mass. At the last service a Jesuit Father delivered an impassioned address of thirty-five minutes, in which he shamefully abused the English nation for her tyranny and cruelty towards Ireland. He said he had laboured for seventeen years in London, where the poor were totally uncared for, being cast aside when, through age or infirmity, they were unable to work. The Catholic Church, he declared, was the only one that cared for the poor. He described England as the rich Dives, and Ireland as the poor Lazarus. He did not go so far as to say that the English Dives would be driven into hell, and that the Irish Lazarus would be carried into Abraham's bosom, but he left his excited congregation plainly to infer this." Let us suppose, what is extremely probable, that the credulous, excitable congregations which have heard such impassioned addresses from the altar on Sunday study Daniel O'Connell's "History of Ireland," and the frothy, seditious articles of the Fenian press, and witness such sensational dramas as the "Arrah-na-Pogue" of Dion Boucicault. We need not be surprised, then, at frightful crimes, with which the lower orders sympathise, nor at the dogged concealment of the criminal. That O'Donovan, a Fenian, now imprisoned for treason-felony, should have been chosen to be M.P. for Tipperary, noted for bloody assassinations, is quite natural; but that it should have excited the disgust of many who warmly approved of the repeated election of Baron Rothschild, by the City of London, when he was legally ineligible, rather surprises me. I pronounce no opinion on Jewish Emancipation, but the Baron is a notoriously inefficient member, being hardly ever in his place. Daniel O'Connell got into Parliament for County Clare before the Catholic Emancipation, by a subtle construction of the statute.

her claims. The title of the Protestant Church has not even a colour of validity. Our right is in abeyance, but it is unimpaired. We must also bear in mind that, while the Catholic (Roman) Church, as a spiritual corporation, is the rightful owner of all ecclesiastical property, we, the bishops and priests, would be only possessors of it for the time being, with right of use and usufruct. We have, therefore, no power to alienate it, or to demand its secularisation, unless with the sanction of the Pope, who is, by Christ's appointment, the supreme ruler of our great spiritual commonwealth."* Let Dr Moriarty stand down, and another witness be summoned. He is an Englishman, a scholar, and a gentleman; he received an Oxford education, and was an Archdeacon in the Church of England. The following is the result of his new illumination:—"If the Prince rebelled in such temporal matters as were subject to the authority of the Church, how much more so if he fell into heresy? He was not only excommunicated, but forfeited also his civil rights. It was simply impossible for a king put outside the Church to rule over a Christian community. It would be an act in direct antagonism to the first principles of law and social order. It was an axiom, in such a condition of society, that kings, to have the right to govern their people, had to be Christian. Unless, therefore, the right of excommunication were denied to the Popes, the right of deposition had to be allowed. Moreover, the right of deposing kings is inherent in the supreme sovereignty which the Popes, as vicegerents of Christ, exercise over all Christian nations. By the very fact of being Christian, nations have accepted the divine law, and are bound by its remotest consequences, and the Church is responsible to God for the observance of the divine law by kings and peoples alike; but every responsibility involves a corresponding authority, therefore this supreme authority is vested in the Church. One of the attributes of sovereignty, however, is to execute judgment, and the last punishment of kings is deposition. But the Church is also responsible for the highest welfare of the people, for whose good, in the name of God, kings reign. When kings renounce

* See Dr Moriarty's Letter to his Clergy (March, 1867), p. 26. It is quoted in the Report of the Scottish Reformation Society, 1868–69.

the name of God, and lead their people to destruction, the Vicar of Christ, by virtue of his supreme responsibility and consequent sovereignty, deposes the godless king, and absolves the people from their oath of allegiance."* Dr Manning has made no secret of the country in which our common Protestantism is most vulnerable:—"Surely a soldier's eye and a soldier's heart would choose, by intuition, this field of England for the warfare of faith. None ampler or nobler could be found. What Nice was to Arianism, and Ephesus to the heresy of Nestorius, and Africa to the schism which withered before the presence of St Augustine,—such is England to the master heresy of these later years. It is the head of Protestantism, the centre of its movements, and the stronghold of its powers. Weakened in England, it is paralysed everywhere; conquered in England, it is conquered throughout the world; once overthrown here, all is but a war of detail. All the roads of the whole world meet in one point, and this point reached, the whole world lies open to the Church's will. It is the key of the whole position of modern error. England, once restored to faith, becomes the Evangelist of the world."† Again, "If ever there was a land in which work is to be done, it is here. I shall not say too much if I say that we have to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and rule, an imperial race. We have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world, as the will of old Rome reigned once. We have to bend or break that will which nations have found invincible and inflexible. 'Were heresy" (that is, Protestantism) "conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world.' All its lines meet here, and therefore in England the Church of God" (that is, the Romish Church) "must be gathered in its strength." Take next an English Popish Bishop who is not a pervert. Dr Goss, of Liverpool, boldly avows that "the very holiest of books, the Bible, is one of the most dangerous books that could be placed in the hands of the young."‡ And, lastly, the claimant of infallibility, Pope Pio Nono, has declared liberty of conscience and worship to be an "insanity!"

* See Essays on Religion and Literature, 2nd Series, pp. 416-17.

† See Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects. Manning. Duffy, London, 1853. Pp. 166-7.

‡ See "Tablet" (Roman Catholic Newspaper), April 4th, 1868.

Another argument presents itself, which cannot be lightly dismissed, and is addressed alike to ministers and members of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. It is unquestionable that soundness of doctrine is a matter of more vital importance than the mode of sustaining the ministry. When Professors Brown and Balmer were arraigned for presumed errors in the Atonement, and were acquitted, did the minority forsake the Church, or break off communion with the Professors? Far from it.* Again, when Dr Walter Smith, of Glasgow, was impeached for heresy by certain brethren in his own Presbytery,† in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and in the

* From Robertson's "History of the Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church" I find that no fewer than forty-six members of Synod, chiefly ministers, strongly dissented from the decision of May 9, 1845, for the following reasons:—"1*st*, Because said decision contains nothing to allay the dissatisfaction which so extensively exists as to the state of doctrine in this Church. 2*nd*, Because for every other good purpose said decision is quite inefficient. 3*rd*, Because said decision can only strengthen the painful suspicions entertained, that this Synod has entered on a course of defection from the doctrine of the Word of God, as exhibited in our symbolical books. 4*th*, Because said decision asserts what the dissentients can by no means allow, viz.:—That the Synod had already 'done what seemed desirable, under the blessing of the Head of the Church, for guarding our fellowship against Pelagian or Arminian errors, or doctrine having such a tendency.' Reiterated professions of adherence to our standards cannot be accepted as a satisfactory answer to reiterated complaints of departure from them. 5*th*, Because the doctrine which, for the above reasons, we cannot but regard said decision as countenancing, is contrary to the Word of God, in the sense expressed in our Confession and Catechisms, when these are fairly interpreted, and as they have been uniformly interpreted by the Secession Church, from the beginning until now." Among the names of the dissentients I am rather surprised to find that of "William Marshall, Coupar-Angus," who must surely have been more stringent in his theology in 1845 than he was in the summer of 1869, when he was corresponding with the Rev. William Moffat, of Cairnie. I do not censure Dr W. Marshall for any conscientious change of views, nor do I hold that he was bound to quit the Church when a large majority passed a decision which appeared so objectionable; but I am entitled to maintain that his example ought to teach forbearance in matters far less important, such as Church finance.

† When Dr Walter Smith was translated from Edinburgh to Free Tron Church, on the removal of the Rev. W. Trail to a church farther west (he was afterwards promoted to Elgin), he published a farewell sermon. The Glasgow Free Presbytery, having a "fine nose for heresy," as Dr Chalmers expressed it, took exception to Dr Smith's opinions, as expressed in this sermon and other productions. When Dr Hanna wrote a letter to the newspapers, indicating his sympathy with Dr Smith, Dr Robert Buchanan sneeringly remarked that he thought, "though Dr Hanna had not been born in Scotland, he had lived long enough in it to have learned not to scald his tongue with other people's broth." Dr Hanna is the son of the late Rev. Dr Hanna, Professor of Theology, Belfast, an excellent man, who showed no

General Assembly, a large minority in each Court pronounced him guilty. But did the most vehement heresy-hunters secede from the Free Church? Not at all. And does not this forbearance in articles of doctrine show the expediency, nay, the necessity, of similar forbearance in matters of finance? Nay, more, if I chose to mention names, it would be easy to cite cases in every Presbyterian Church in which ministers have been accused of scandalous immorality, but have been either acquitted by a majority, or punished more leniently than the minority demanded. Did the minority, therefore, secede? Certainly not. Yet uniformity in good clerical morals is surely of infinitely weightier moment than uniformity in clerical finance.

Further, there is another point to which I advert with extreme reluctance, but which is important in its relation to movements for Union between the negotiating Churches, and as showing how far persons wedded to a preconceived object will proceed in their eagerness to attain it. Assuredly, there can be no more solemn and responsible function of the office-bearers of any Church than that of dispensing the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Now, few United Presbyterians appear to be aware that, in the Free Church, there prevails in the North Highlands a practice quite irreconcilable with sentiments recognised by all Presbyterians. Nay, more, many Free Churchmen are ignorant of its existence, and those who know of it are loud in its condemnation. The practice is this, that Baptism is administered to the children of parents who have never been admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. No opinion is here pronounced on the propriety of this practice. Three remarks, however, may be submitted: 1st, It is condemned by the Standards of the Free Church, and is often cast in the teeth of the

little kindness to Dr Adam Thomson in his Irish missionary tour. I have procured from Edmonston & Douglas a copy of Dr Smith's obnoxious sermon, which must have been much in demand, for it reached a third edition. His text is 2 Cor. iv. 13, "I believed, therefore have I spoken." The drift of the preacher is to enforce the duty of earnestness in religion, to deprecate the cramping restrictions of mere traditionary forms, to distinguish depth from obscurity in doctrine, to dissuade from barren controversy, and to release the simple gospel from scholastic encumbrance and subtlety. Dr Smith rather courted than shunned investigation into his sentiments; but if his congregation had not stuck fast to him, he might have been suspended or deposed.

Episcopalians in Scotland, some of whom levy fees for baptism. 2nd, Dr Candlish, in an August Commission of the Free General Assembly, held several years after 1843, in dealing with an appeal case from a Northern Presbytery, adverted to the practice in strong terms of reprehension, and affirmed that the time would come when the Free Church must grapple with it to procure its abolition. That consummation has not yet arrived; in fact, the Free Church, though comprising nearly the whole population in the Northern Highlands, dare not grapple with it. The late Rev. Mr Wilkie, a native of Kirriemuir, in Forfarshire, the immediate successor of the Rev. Mr Stewart of Cromarty, hazarded the attempt, but it speedily led to his resignation of his charge, and his removal to a small infant congregation in Forfar.* 3rd, The practice greatly weakens the position taken by the defenders of Infant Baptism, as all must admit who have studied Dr Wardlaw's excellent treatise on that subject. In Aberdeen Free Church Presbytery there is, or was, a regulation to the effect that communicants who were absent from the dispensation of the Lord's Supper on three successive occasions, without assigning a satisfactory reason to the Church Session, must be struck off the roll of Church members. An attempt was made in the General Assembly of 1866 to introduce the same rule into the Established Church throughout Scotland, but it failed.† Will any one who can discern the

* Mr Wilkie's lamentable death is still fresh in the memory of his friends. He had gone to Liverpool to raise funds in aid of the erection of his East Free Church in Forfar. On a visit to the splendid St George's Hall, then building, he missed his footing, fell to a considerable depth, and was mortally injured. He lingered for a few days, during which he was watched with the utmost kindness by the Rev. Mr Welsh, minister of Canning Street Presbyterian Church. Mr Wilkie succeeded in Cromarty Mr Stewart, the minister of Hugh Miller.

† I may remark by the way that, in England, provincial Episcopal exactions tend to denationalise the Established Church. An Evangelical clergyman, when presented to a parish in a diocese having a High Church Bishop, is occasionally refused induction. Thus the late Dr Philpotts, of Exeter, objected to all candidates denying baptismal regeneration, and such dogmas. Dr Philpotts renounced communion with his metropolitan, Dr Sumner, the meek and tolerant Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring him to be a "fautor of heresy," and "guilty of the betrayal of a high and most sacred trust." Yet he, the "proud prelate Henry of Exeter," as Shakspeare has it, had taken a solemn oath of "all due reverence and obedience to the Archbishop." On the other hand, Anglo-Catholic clergymen, even if reckoned unobjectionable by their congregations, lead an uneasy life, to say the least, in the diocese of Durham. The late Bishop of Manchester was also hard upon them. Dr Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, used to propound 87 questions to his candidates.

relative importance of things, maintain that doctrines and usages bound up in the very essence of a Christian Church are to be treated as matters of forbearance, with one rule for the South and another for the North of Scotland,* while a matter of finance is to be erected into a permanent and impassable wall of partition, at the bidding of ecclesiastics? Surely common sense cannot fail to perceive the force of the distinction, and to decide rightly. Such perversion of vision is no novelty in the Church or in the world. The mint and the anise and the cumin are still exalted to the place due to the weightier matters of the law.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may not be amiss to remind Free Church laymen of the oblivion into which two once prominent topics have sunk. Shortly after the Disruption, the late Rev. Mr Gray, of Perth, published a Free Church Catechism,† drawn up after the model of the Shorter of Westminster. It was warmly recommended by leading ministers as a clear and conclusive manual, worthy of being used in families, if not also in schools. Heads of families, however, though quite convinced of the soundness of Free Church principles, were slow to see the duty of teaching Free Church Catechisms, and the children were doubtless thankful for exemption from the new penance. The Perth manual is nearly obsolete. Again, till very recently, pastoral addresses were issued by the Free General Assembly, to remind the rising generation of the Disruption, and of the distinctive tenets of the Free Church. Such manifestoes have also fallen into disuse. At the first blush this looks strange. The farther we recede from a historical transaction, involving present duties and future interests, the greater becomes the duty of recalling and explaining it. What can be the reason of this departure from the general rule? Is it because the Disruption principles are not esteemed so vital as formerly—or, rather, because a grave dissension has sprung up as to what these principles really are? At any rate, when sage and venerable Doctors differ, the people will decide

* I am told that in Edinburgh the Free Church regulation differs from both.

† On looking at the Catechism, I find that it was actually issued by "authority of the Publication Committee of the General Assembly," and that it is emblazoned with the "Nec tamen consumebatur," and the burning bush.

for themselves. At the Disruption, I heard Dr Candlish preach his last sermon in St George's Church, to a crowded and saddened congregation. It is superfluous to say that it was powerful, and that his peroration was solemnly impressive. After expressing his regret that the agitation had partly withdrawn his attention from pastoral duty, and repelling the taunts that his party had a liking for contention, he concluded by declaring that he had been "struggling for principles which Christ himself would vindicate when He came down to earth to take His great power and reign." Will Dr Candlish now say what principles are to be vindicated? Is it Spiritual Independence in the absolute, unrestricted sense which he claimed in and out of the Establishment? The Auchterarder and the Cardross litigations have dispelled that delusion. Is it the vindication of the Establishment principle against Voluntaryism, which was the object of his rooted antipathy in 1852, when he welcomed the Constitutional Seceders into the Free Church, and again in 1855, and when he declaimed so vehemently in the City Hall before the citizens of Glasgow? According to the Articles of the proposed Union, the principle of Establishments is to become an "open question;" so that any Free Churchman may preach Voluntaryism as wild and impracticable as was ever propounded in 1832, when the popular mind was flushed and frenzied with the fiercely-contested triumph of the Reform Bill.*

* Lest I should be suspected of exaggerating the violence of the Voluntary agitation in 1832, I may explain that an ignorant section of the laity maintained that no Dissenting minister ought to have a fixed income of any amount, for this was reckoned as objectionable as a legal provision. Moreover, sundry insinuations were occasionally vented about clerical labour being confined to one day in the week, followed by six days' idleness. My earliest experience of a Voluntary meeting was not comfortable. It was held in 1832, during the day, in a United Secession church. Several ministers expounded the new discovery, interlarding their expositions with allusions to the neighbouring parish ministers, of whom some were certainly not models of the apostolic virtues; and the audience, vastly tickled, roared loudly—the first roaring I had heard in a place of worship. At the close of the proceedings, the aged minister of the church, who was a Whig of the school of 1688, rose to express his dissent from some of the crude declarations which had been made. This the audience was in no mood to grant, and he was heartily hissed. The Chairman, a layman, had affirmed that the Established Church would be down in two years. Within little more than that period he himself came down commercially, went to America, and was forgotten. Why

Nothing contributed so much to undermine the authority and to rebuke the arrogant assumption of the "Constitutional Catechism" as the seasonable exposure by the Duke of Argyll. In 1849, when he was only in his twenty-seventh year, he published his "Presbytery Examined: an Essay, Critical and Historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation,"—a book reflecting the highest credit on his ability, learning, and impartiality. The acuteness which he displayed in unravelling the sophisms both of the Scottish

I was taken to the meeting I cannot remember, but I lost a valuable lesson in Virgil, the French Verbs, Lennie's Grammar, Proportion, half-text and small hand, and Scott's Beauties, with Mr Pitt's reply to Sir Robert Walpole! One lesson, however, I learned—namely, the danger of clerical leaders inflaming an unlearned democracy with appeals to their passions. About the same time, I attended the first political meeting within my recollection. It was convened in the open air, to hear a speech from a gallant captain of the Royal Navy, who succeeded his father in the representation of Fifeshire. Political knowledge he had almost none; but his loud professions of Liberal zeal pleased the artisans hugely, and the occasional recurrence of a nautical oath even heightened their merriment. Being asked whether he would vote for the expulsion of the Bishops from Parliament, he answered that he would vote for their being all shot! This was vastly funny, but it bore fatal fruits. Many of his hearers, in due season, became Socialists. The Captain, who was afterwards Admiral, and who in his heart despised democracy, lost his popularity, partly from his neglect of his Parliamentary duties, and partly from his obstinate support of the Game Laws. He was succeeded by his son, an amiable gentleman, now dead. When I last saw the Admiral in London, he denounced the village in question in terms which I cannot repeat. Politicians know that the Reform Bill of 1832 was precipitated by the French Revolution which drove Charles X. to Holyrood Palace; and such crises are not favourable to the formation of wholesome permanent theories, either in civil affairs or in ecclesiastical. Visionaries and incendiaries have too often led the people to expect from mere legislation substantial blessings which can be realised only by toil, steadiness, honesty, and skill. I may add that I am the youngest son of the Burgher Seceder minister who was hissed down in his own place of worship, in which he had for thirty years proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. In 1868 the congregation resolved to erect a costly new church. Applications for money were sent to the sons and daughters of the minister, who had died suddenly in 1837; and although some of them had settled in Australia, and others had ceased to be Presbyterians at all, four, if not five, responded to the appeal. The sequel of this note is instructive. As the village has nearly doubled its population since 1832, and as the parish church is about two miles distant, some friends of the Establishment offered to buy the old building for a place of worship, but the offer was obstinately refused, just as if the intention had been to convert it into a synagogue of Satan. Within the last three months, a lady in the neighbourhood, who had been distinguished for half-a-century by her unostentatious piety and beneficence, died, bequeathing a sum of money adequate to the erection of a handsome church for the accommodation of the adherents of the Church of Scotland.

Prelatists and the Free Church Spiritual Jurisdictionists would have rendered his work remarkable, even if he had belonged to the clerical persuasion, and would have entitled him to a high rank as an accomplished essayist, even if he had not enriched the scientific and theological literature of his country with fresh speculations, which amply attest the possession of a singularly vigorous and independent mind. No one who wishes to obtain a clear insight into the real character of Presbytery, with its excellences and the corruptions by which it has been overlaid, ought to rest satisfied without a diligent perusal of the Duke's "Presbytery Examined." In regard to Mr Gray's Free Church Catechism he observes—"Perhaps the whole tone and intention of this document cannot be more concisely or more accurately described than by saying that it is directed to prove that the opposition of that body to everything it does not itself hold, and its omission of everything it does not itself practise, is due to its maintenance of the crown of Christ; in other words, it is directed to prove that every opinion different from its own, whether on matters of doctrine, or of government, or of mere ritual, is, in some way or other, a violation of the Headship of Christ."* In a few lines the Duke disposes conclusively of the "Headship," of which an unfair and reprehensible use has been often made in ecclesiastical controversy. After arguing that Pope Hildebrand and Henry VIII. would have admitted the assertion that Christ is the Head of His Church, he adds—"Certainly some more conclusive argument must be selected by Presbyters, whether against the supremacy of popes and kings, or in favour of the supremacy of its own General Assembly. For, if the non-existence of an *earthly* head over the visible Church be enough to overthrow the assumed authority of popes and sovereigns, as involving claims of earthly headship, it must be equally sufficient to deny the same authority to General Assemblies, which also, I believe, hold their sittings upon earth."† Again, the power of the keys was gravely set forth by the Constitutional Catechism, on which the Duke remarks—"The power of binding and loosing" [of retaining and remitting sins] "is gravely maintained as belonging to the office-bearers of Presbytery, in

* See "Presbytery Examined," pp. 215, 216. † "Presbytery Examined," p. 161.

virtue of Christ's address to the twelve Apostles. . . . . If you cross-question a Free Churchman closely, you will compel him to reduce the 'binding and loosing,' the 'retaining and remitting of sins,' to the humblest power of ordinary discipline which must belong to every society having any organisation at all. . . . . No, thanks to John Knox again! His anchors are perfectly invaluable. Cross-question the Free Churchman, and he will be obliged to own that there is no invariable rite constituting ecclesiastical office, or conferring ruling power. He will be obliged to tell you that even ordination was rejected by Knox as a needless ceremony, and that, besides those spiritual qualifications, on which no human eye can pronounce with certainty, the fact of public commission from the body of the Church alone constituted the Presbyterian minister. You will not get him to this point without numerous attempts to mystify and evade the question."* "We may hear Presbyterian assemblies designating the power they claim as the 'power of the keys,' and we may hear them quoting in support of it the same texts which have always been the favourite texts of priests. We may find, for instance, that the first text quoted by the Free Church in support of its distinctive dogma is likewise the favourite text of Rome. The same motto which floats on the banner of the Free Church is the motto which, for ages before the Free Church was born, has floated on the banner of the Papacy. Who that has visited Italy does not remember that great circle from which the glorious dome of St. Peter's rises, and on which is inscribed in letters of gold mosaic, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam: et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum.'† This, too, is the text first and prominently quoted by the 'Constitutional Catechism' of the Free Church in support of the favourite dogma of the absolute and sacred distinction and separation to be maintained between the persons severally entrusted with civil and spiritual power." The power of the keys seems to be still claimed in the Free Church. At a meeting of the Free Church Presbytery of Meigle, held to consider the Coupar-Angus case, a minister spoke thus:—"The keys of the kingdom are committed to them (the Presbytery) as

* See "Presbytery Examined." † See "Presbytery Examined," pp. 211, 212.

spiritual rulers, which they may open or shut in conformity with the laws which the Head of the Church has laid down in his Word." On the previous Sunday, Archbishop Manning had employed language somewhat more explicit, asserting claims virtually similar:—"I claim to be Supreme Judge and director of the conscience of men—of the peasant that tills the ground, and the princes that sit on thrones—of the houses and the lives in the shade of privacy, and the Legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last Supreme Judge of what is right and what is wrong.* But the Constitutional Catechism descends from the "Headship" and the "keys" to the Court of Session, and criticises the comparative judicial weight of the Head of the Law.† Of all the offensive acts of the Free Church leaders, the most reprehensible has been that of slighting the capacity of the judges who give decisions adverse to their pretensions; while the judges on the other side are all Daniels come to judgment. After Lord Jerviswoode had, in 1860, pronounced an interlocutor unfavourable to the Free Church in the Cardross Case, Dr Candlish criticised it, in the November Commission of the Free General Assembly, as follows:—"The note appended to his interlocutor is one which I have read carefully. Some parts of it appear to me, with all due deference to the learned Judge, very weak; and after all the study I have been able to give them, other parts are to me perfectly unintelligible."‡ In the same way, before the Disruption, when eight Judges decided that their

* See "Fifeshire Journal," October 14th, 1869. The "Journal" has been for some years conducted by Mr Hodgson with great vigour and enterprise. He is still remembered in Glasgow and Edinburgh as a member of the daily press. Mr Landreth, the De Quincey of his Church, is now editor of the "Fife Herald," which, like the "Fifeshire Journal," is published in Cupar-Fife. Each of these newspapers can boast of a more eminent series of editors than most metropolitan journals; it comprises ministers, advocates, and professors. Dr Page was editor of the "Herald," and subsequently of the "Journal."

† See Constitutional Catechism, p. 86.

‡ Even-handed justice compels me to condemn the unkind remarks of the Rev. R. H. Stevenson, of St George's Church, Edinburgh, touching Lord Ardmillan in the case of Free St John's Church, Leith, which, about a year ago, reverted to the Establishment. Lord Ardmillan is universally esteemed as a Judge and a man. Curiously enough, Lord Jerviswoode, who is a strongly-attached elder of the Church of Scotland, decided in favour of the Free Church; but the First Division of the Court of Session, including Lord Ardmillan, who is a zealous elder in the

claims were illegal, the five in the minority were applauded to the skies. The fact is, there were able Judges on both sides.*

Nor let any Free Churchman imagine that, in 1843, his Church ceased to draw money from the State for religious purposes. Within four years after the Disruption, Privy Council grants were solicited and obtained for the aid of the Free Church Schools. Now, the Privy Council not only requires orthodox religion to be taught in orthodox schools, but heterodox religion to be taught in heterodox schools, which is surely worse than merely secular instruction. As regards the Privy Council system, I quote from the "Daily Review" and the "Courant" the following statements, which were never contradicted:—"Dr Candlish, 'acting brightly on the Establishment principle,' was mainly instrumental in introducing it into the Free Church. Some concessions were made by the Privy Council, who were then anxious to extend the system; but even to this day there are Free Church ministers who have refused to accept the grants, while the United Presbyterians, as a body, have sternly persisted in condemning them altogether. Nor are their objections ill founded. The same rule which prescribed the teaching of the Church Catechism in Anglican schools, and the Westminster Catechism in Presbyterian schools, sanctioned the inculcation of Roman Catholic dogmas in the schools of that communion. To secure this end, these denominations were empowered to reject any Government inspector of schools without assigning reasons, and this power has been exercised occasionally for very frivolous pretences. According to the Privy Council rules, there is nothing to prevent Mahometans or Mormons from obtaining grants from the State to train up their children as followers of the Prophet of Mecca, or of Brigham Young. In fact, the

Free Church, unanimously reversed Lord Jerviswoode's decision. Did Dr Candlish think it "very weak, and in some parts unintelligible?" The edifice had been in illegal possession of the Free Church since 1843; and when the Supreme Court restored it to its rightful owners, Dr Robert Buchanan came along from Glasgow to attend a meeting in Leith and denounce them.

* Dr James Macfarlane, in his "History of the Secession of 1843," affirms that Lord Jeffrey, who in 1838 favoured the claims of the Non-Intrusionists in the Auchterarder case, afterwards changed his mind, and that he (Dr M.) heard him hint at the change in open court.

principle of 'indiscriminate endowment' has been in full force for nearly a generation."*

What rendered the inconsistency of certain individuals in the Free Church the more glaring, was the fact that, at the very time they were entering into this new contract with the State, which had passed a law to dispense money for the propagation of every creed in the country, they were plotting against Mr Macaulay, who was banished for a season from the representation of the city. I remember distinctly how, when in 1847 he attempted to defend himself on the hustings, he was hooted down by a fanatical rabble, and how, when he appealed to their sense of justice, by pointing to the spot where criminals undergo the severest sentence of the law, and by exclaiming, "You always show some indulgence to the last words of a convicted felon," his touching words were received with mockery and derision; and in walking from the hustings to his committee-rooms in Hunter Square, I saw a vile mob make an attempt to hustle him. And what was his offence? Simply this, that he had voted for a petty increase of the grant to Maynooth, which had been originally given by Mr Pitt. Fortunately for the reputation of the city, the stain cast on the illustrious orator was soon removed. During the interval of his retirement from Parliament, he produced the immortal "History," declining pressing offers of a seat from other constituencies. Without issuing an address or appearing in person, he was at the next election returned in triumph. As soon as his health permitted, he came down to Edinburgh, was rapturously welcomed by the electors, whom he addressed in a wise and graceful speech, full of kind reminiscences, without a word of unseemly exultation over fallen foes.†

* See "Daily Review," July 9th, and "Courant," July 10th, 1869. The letter was subscribed "Phylax." It attracted a good deal of attention at the time. Many well-informed persons were not aware that not only do Roman Catholic schools in Scotland receive grants from the State, but that the Inspectors of such schools, who must be Roman Catholics, are bound to see that Romish doctrines are carefully inculcated. Dr Candlish and the Free Church "protested" against such Romish grants. They had been protesting against many things for twenty years, including the Voluntaries, the Moderates, the Court of Session, the House of Lords, and all "the powers that be." Nevertheless, they pocketed the money.

† Admirers of Mr Macaulay—that is, all who have read his Essays, History, Speeches, and Poems—now wonder why he was for a season banished from Edin-

Consistency requires a glance at the present attitude of the Established Church. In the Church, as in the State, there are two forces at work—one, conservative; the other, progressive: the former clings to past usages; the latter strives after new developments. Both are necessary and wholesome; order and liberty are the ruling powers in every society, civil or spiritual; their equipoise is the attainment of human perfection. The

burgh. Besides possessing splendid talents and unrivalled stores of learning, he was a man of unblemished reputation, of high honour, and of warm affections, so that his rejection stung him to the quick. It was effected by the temporary coalition of the "Excise (Spirit-Dealers') Reform Association, of the Total Abstinence Society, and of the Tory and Radical Committees!" Patrons of the turf, too, had been offended by his peremptory refusal to subscribe to the Musselburgh races. This he did, because he had doubts respecting the propriety of the sport, and because he held that Members of Parliament ought not to be called upon by their constituents to give money for questionable purposes. After his death, it was ascertained that nearly a fourth of his annual income, which was derived almost solely from literary labour, had been bestowed on poor literary men. So unexpected was the triumph of Mr Charles Cowan, that the late Mr William Tait, publisher, and his brother, Mr C. B. Tait, with whom I travelled to England on the polling-day, offered to take any odds in favour of Macaulay's success. Not being a betting man, I neither lost nor won. Shortly after, a Dissenting organ in London boasted of the "first rhetorician of the age having been sent to the wall." The writer of the article, or at least the editor and proprietor of the organ—a man of indisputable talents and honesty of purpose—himself entered Parliament, and was repeatedly sent to the wall. Recently he has re-entered it, and has become a wiser, but, I hope, not a sadder man. I may add that, when Mr Macaulay made his first appearance in Edinburgh, he mortally offended the Physical Force Chartists by answers which they never forgave. Being asked why he refused them the franchise, he answered, with great rapidity and decision, "Because they have shown, by their mode of asking for it, that if they got it to-morrow they would soon reduce themselves to a lower state than the Hottentots or the Cherokees!" In his last speech to his constituents he avowed himself to be a "Liberal Conservative," or a "Conservative Liberal." Professor Wilson was generally conspicuous among his audiences, although, in 1826, he characterised him in the "Noctes" as "that airy Jack-anapes, but really clever lad, young Tom Macaulay." I rejoice to record that my old Professor plumped for Macaulay at the memorable rejection—a compliment which Macaulay warmly appreciated. Sir William Hamilton and Hugh Miller might be also seen gazing intently on the eloquent representative of Whiggism, envious perhaps of the marvellous gifts of extemporaneous utterance in which they were so defective. Lord Jeffrey's judicial position forbade his attendance, though he was known to have been instrumental in introducing him to the constituency. In a letter to Lord Advocate Rutherfurd, dated June 3, 1839, the following Whiggish words occur:—"Macaulay has got on beautifully here, and not only delighted all true and reasonable Whigs, but has mollified both Tories and Radicals. They will give him no trouble, unless some blackguard Radicals should hold up their dirty hands, and bellow at the nomination." The nomination of 1847 witnessed abundance of bellowing.

party headed by Dr Pearson, of Strathblane, and counting 88 votes, represents the conservatism of the last General Assembly. It professes to be contented with things as they are: the Scottish Benefices Act works well; the Church of Scotland has prospered under its operation; old churches are filling, new churches are rising; missions are flourishing at home and abroad. So auspicious did these symptoms seem to Dr Cumming, on a recent visit to the Assembly, that he was emboldened to say that the invigorated Church could afford another Disruption —an assertion which was promptly rebuked by a member of experience and authority, who remembered too well the heavy blow it had sustained in 1843. Lord Aberdeen's Benefices Act was well meant, but it is now rather out of date. As a makeshift, the Act served its purpose; as a permanent settlement, it is faulty. If congregations were willing to accept the presentees on whom the patrons may have laid hold, or whom the Church Courts, after hearing objections, may resolve to ordain, the Act might be continued. But this they will not tolerate; hence the renewed efforts to abolish patronage. As it is not improbable that these pages will be read by some apologists for the existing order of things, I venture to make two observations—one relating to the presentee, another to the congregation. Before receiving the presentation, the probationer has no means of learning whether or not he is likely to be acceptable to the parishioners. If they object, he must either resign the presentation, or run the gauntlet of objections in the Presbytery. In either case he is a marked man; in the latter, he experiences an ignominious repulse, or makes good his title, burdened with heavy costs, besides causing a rent in the Church. Next, has any attentive observer failed to lament the painful process of hearing objections? The Presbytery meets. Counsel skilled in the technicalities of Church law appear at the bar. Objectors of all sorts crop up day after day. Their critical powers have been strained to the utmost to detect faults in doctrine, weakness in illustration, inelegance in style, faults in pronunciation, uncouthness in gesture. Even the devotions of the presentee are held up to ridicule.* He is really a criminal at the bar.

* I have never been present at any meeting of a Presbytery engaged in hearing objections, but, from the newspaper reports, I am convinced that the proceedings

Copious reports of the evidence are circulated by the newspapers, and the learned counsel, fee'd by attorneys who have been hunting

must be very tiresome. Many years ago, Dr Begg told a good story—he has told many good ones in his day, and he always tells them well—about a man who had been proposed as an elder in some church. One of the members having questioned his fitness for the office, the proposer answered, "But he has a wonderful power of objecting." Objections are sometimes made to the presentee because he is not fluent in prayer. Do the objectors ever reflect that if prayers are wholly unpremeditated and always varied, as some unreflecting opponents of all forms of public prayer contend for, a minister, and, above all, a probationer preaching his trial sermons, will naturally falter in addressing his Maker in the name of the congregation? If he is deeply impressed with the awful solemnity of his intercession, he will falter all the more. One of the most eloquent and pathetic Free Church preachers in the North of Scotland, who reads his sermons closely, but so effectively that every one of his numerous hearers supposes the speaker to be looking at him or her individually, is very far from being fluent in prayer; he is often embarrassed, but all know him to be deeply in earnest. The objections to the discourses of the presentee are sometimes ill founded, especially when the critics are ignorant or captious. During the memorable trial of Dr John Brown, for alleged unsoundness on the Atonement, the late Dr Henderson, of Galashiels, who was esteemed one of the best preachers and wisest men in the United Presbyterian Church, and whose two volumes of sermons amply confirm this estimate, remarked in the course of the discussion—"There was another caution, not less necessary—that against our being ready to make our brethren offenders for a word. There was a deep-seated ambiguity in human language, which it was impossible to free it from altogether by our most careful definitions. While every one certainly should be as guarded as possible in his own expressions, he should show himself disposed, if those of another seem capable of different senses, by all means to take them in the sound sense. It had had a painful effect on his own mind to be obliged, in consequence of the agitation kept up for some time past on doctrinal questions, not only to watch over his expressions, but to do so under the impression that possibly some of his hearers might, if these were not very precise, twist and pervert them, so as to make them teach heresy. And he feared that many of late years, in listening to the public discourses of ministers, instead of receiving with meekness the engrafted word, had been listening with jealous ears to discover whether the preacher were of what have been called the old or the new views; and that thus, though their intellectual powers might be exercised, their hearts were left untouched, their consciences unawakened. With regard to the count in the libel now under consideration, he had heard since he came here that it had been said on high authority—[understood to be the Lord-Justice Clerk Hope, who took a lively interest in the proceedings]—that some of Dr Balmer's expressions, through the medium of which the charge of error was sought to be fastened on Dr Brown, are not very felicitous. Notwithstanding the high veneration with which he regarded the memory of his deceased friend [Dr Balmer], he was not disposed to deny that there might be some truth in the allegation, taking it in connexion with what is reported to have been added by the same authority, that this shows the wisdom of Dr Balmer's remark, that there are some points so nice that it is better or safer for us not to attempt strictly to define them." See "Robertson's History of the Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church," pp. 283, 284. 1846. Oliphant & Son.

for adverse evidence, engage in a keen encounter of wits over the case. Who can deny that such scenes diminish the popular reverence for religion and the solemn services of the sanctuary? Surely a probationer merits kinder treatment than to be made a whetstone for sharpening the critical acumen of his censors. In Dissenting Churches things are better managed. Probationers are fairly distributed over the vacant churches.* The man who does not suit the taste of one church, or who would not accept their offer, passes on to another; and if, after the expiry of a reasonable period, he receives no call, he is forewarned that he must look out for some other field of exertion. The congregations may have been stupid, ignorant, unable to appreciate his theological lore, profundity of thought, powers of illustration, choice of language, or imposing action. There is no help for it. While nobody objects to his high opinion of his own good qualities, the people have an equal right to give effect to theirs, and it is not expedient that they should be driven to do so beyond the pale of their Church.†

* At a meeting of the Established Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, held October 12th, 1869, Dr Lee, of Roxburgh (son of the late Principal Lee), said that "the organisation of the United Presbyterian Church, in the superintendence and employment of probationers, deserved their admiration and respect." The Edinburgh and Glasgow journals have been teeming with complaints from probationers of the Established and Free Churches on this score.

† There is an unpleasant ordeal through which ordained ministers of the Established Church only must pass in cases of translation; they must preach before the Presbytery and the new congregation, as if they were mere probationers. In 1861 the Rev. Mr Phin, of Galashiels, received a presentation to the first charge of the Parish of South Leith. Mr Phin was known to be a man of high talents, and to have been a most excellent minister in Galashiels—a very populous parish. He had been distinguished by his zeal and activity in promoting the enterprises of the Church of Scotland: his congregation had raised £500 for the Endowment Scheme: he was in the prime of life, and his presence near Edinburgh was desirable on public grounds. An opposition, determined and unscrupulous, was organised, and a skilful counsel was retained by the objectors. After proof had been led before numerous meetings of the Edinburgh Presbytery, which was heartily sick of the reckless proceedings, Mr Phin triumphantly rebutted the objections, and then declined the presentation! Mr Phin, now Dr Phin, is known to me only as the bold, unflinching, and eloquent representative of the Edinburgh University Council in the University Court—an office of high honour, which he fills with great fidelity. Both before and after the South Leith case, Dr Phin supported Lord Aberdeen's Act in the General Assembly, and traced the complaints to the way in which the Church Courts administer it. A less courageous man than Dr Phin would have succumbed before the phalanx of the South Leith objectors, most of whom were proved to have no legal standing in the Presbytery at all. In the

parish next to my native one, the minister, an aged man in my boyhood, had been inducted by the military, but, by dint of the regular and faithful discharge of his parochial duties of every kind, he won general respect. He lived to be the father of the Church of Scotland; he was most punctilious in the school examinations, and always grudged a holiday on the day following, which the boys of the school begged of his more compliant co-presbyters.—Since the text of this chapter was in type, another case of proposed translation has become famous—that of the Rev. Angus Gunn, of Dollar, to the parish church of Alloa. The Presbytery of Stirling has already held several protracted meetings. Many witnesses have been examined, and their blunt answers have occasionally caused great merriment—not quite in keeping with the decorum proper to a Church Court. From the repeated protests taken by Mr Campbell Smith and Mr Macdonald, the respective advocates for the objectors and Mr Gunn, the case will probably be transferred to a higher Court. Mr Shaw, the late minister, who spent the last five years of his life in Alloa, and was generally unfit for pulpit duties, was unjustly taxed with indolence. After his removal from Ayr he became a complete bodily wreck; but I suspect that his constitution was ruined by his intense study in the High School and University of Edinburgh, where I knew him. He won the highest honours in almost every class, and his application knew no bounds. His fellow-students looked upon him as a man destined to be a university professor. If the parishioners of Alloa had taken the trouble to consult that skilful surgeon, Dr Stevenson Smith, Edinburgh, who knew Mr Shaw's family in Fifeshire, he could have told them that Mr Shaw inherited a feeble constitution. He died at Dollar, of softening of the brain.—In the recent discussion in the Free Presbytery of Inverness, when the Rev. Donald Fraser was for the second time invited to London, the Rev. John Fraser of Kiltarlity said that, if a minister were comfortable in a congregation, he was bound to remain. The Rev. Donald Fraser thought and acted differently. The London congregation had twice sent five or six commissioners to Inverness; the Free Inverness Presbytery had twice stood in their way: the Rev. Donald Fraser, to save the trouble of appeals to the Synod and Assembly, forthwith resigned his charge, and accepted the London invitation. Why should a minister be kept in a charge against his will?

CHAPTER IV.

Trial of the Rev. Thomas Wright, of Borthwick, in the Established General Assembly of 1841—Titles and Scope of his Works—Motions in the Assembly—Opinions of Dr Patrick Macfarlane, Dr Hill, Dr Dewar, Mr Dimma Mr Robertson, of Ellon, Dr George Cook—Mr Wright's Deposition—Dr Candlish's Fatherhood of God—Reviewed by Dr Crawford—"United Presbyterian Magazine" quoted—Professor Spalding's Logical Exercises—Dr Chalmers on Catechisms and Confessions—Westminster Confession of Faith—Defection of the Reformed Presbyterians—Scottish Sabbath—Necessity for decent Observance.

IN a former chapter I promised to recur to the trial, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, of the Rev. Thomas Wright, the once famous parochial minister of Borthwick, "where, in his delightful retirement, he embodied the results of varied study and experience in a series of valuable treatises on theology and practical ethics. These works were published anonymously; and though on many points they ran counter to popular dogmas both in religion and politics, they won the unanimous approval of literary critics, and attained a wider circulation throughout Great Britain than the writings of any Scottish Divine, except Chalmers. The earliest of Mr Wright's contributions to religious literature was entitled 'The Morning and Evening Sacrifice; or, Prayers for Private Persons and Families.' It appeared in 1822, and was followed at short intervals by essays, respectively designated, 'The Last Supper,' 'The Farewell to Time,' 'The True Plan of a Living Temple; or Man considered in his proper relations to the ordinary occupations and pursuits of Life;' 'My Old House; or, the Doctrine of Changes;' and the 'Manual of Conduct,' the last of which was a summary of the doctrines, principles, and opinions contained in the 'Living Temple.' The arrangement of these successive treatises, according to their objects and uses, was as follows:—First, 'The Living Temple' and 'Manual of Conduct,' as guides to active and social duty; next, 'The ·ning and Evening Sacrifices,' for daily devotions; then

'The Last Supper,' for assisting those who are preparing to celebrate the most interesting solemnity of the Christian faith; and, lastly, the 'Farewell to Time,' for the use of those who have the near prospect of leaving this world, or who may wish to be useful to persons in that situation. In the preface to his 'Living Temple,' the writer states that his entire series of treatises was designed 'to afford a view of all the duties incumbent on man, as a being who must busy himself among labours and cares that sometimes seem to him to have but little relation to his future and greater destiny—a being, however, who is fitted by his religious nature, not only for making all ordinary occupations a service done to God, and instrumental in promoting the advancement of his kingdom, but who, by means of the same religious endowment of his nature, is permitted to hold, amidst all the variety of his circumstances, devout intercourse with the Father of his spirit—his acts of devout communion being sometimes more common, and sometimes more solemn and extraordinary; and, lastly, as a being who is destined soon to pass from all the loveliness and all the cares of this world—often, too, amidst circumstances of great humiliation and trial—to the more enduring interests of that far greater portion of the Divine kingdom which eternity is to unveil.' In the book styled 'My Old House,' the author's object was to ascertain, as far as possible, the laws to which those great changes which occasionally vary the scene of human life seem to be subject, and to point out the rules which ought to be applied to all such events, with the view of determining whether they are in accordance with the progressive tendencies of Nature, or are to be regarded as but occasional irregularities or retardations of her course. The 'Morning and Evening Sacrifice' is marked by depth and delicacy of devotional feeling, as well as by graceful ease and felicity of expression. The 'Last Supper' and 'Farewell to Time' are at once well-considered expositions of duty and impressive warnings against its neglect and violation; while the 'Living Temple,' the 'Manual of Conduct,' and 'My Old House' have seldom been equalled by any treatises of the same class in comprehensiveness and subtlety of thought, in elevation and purity of moral sentiment, and in

flexibility, elegance, and vividness of style."* The orthodoxy of Mr Wright's works, if questionable, had never been impugned by his ecclesiastical superiors, but during the Non-Intrusion controversy he had been a steady adherent of the Moderate party in the Dalkeith Presbytery. In 1839, Dr Candlish brought the works under the notice of the General Assembly,

* I extract this record of Mr Wright's theological labours from an obituary of him in the "Edinburgh Guardian," March 25, 1855, contributed by the accomplished pen of his friend, Mr John Carmichael, M.A., High School. Mr Carmichael was at one time a student of Dr Chalmers, and his theological lore is attested by his learned colleague, Dr James Donaldson, who, in his work on the Christian Fathers, acknowledges his best thanks for Mr Carmichael's "many valuable suggestions." Mr Inglis, then an advocate of four years' standing, and now Lord Justice-General, was counsel for Mr Wright, and delivered a very ingenious and elaborate speech. Dr Candlish's attack was also very able, particularly in his references to the theories of Leibnitz, which his psychological subtlety and dialectic skill eminently qualified him for analysing. Whether Dr Candlish, whose own recent speculations require so charitable a construction from his brethren, looks back with complacency on his treatment of Mr Wright, I have no means of knowing. In the last Free General Assembly, I think I heard him avow certain sentiments for which the Rev. Robert Smith Candlish of 1839 would have called him to account at the bar of the Established General Assembly. In the Assembly of 1841 Dr Candlish delivered another powerful and impressive speech, which "Investigator" reprints in one of his trenchant pamphlets. Some months previously, the Marquis of Normanby, then Secretary for the Home Department, had appointed him Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. Lord Aberdeen condemned the nomination in the House of Lords, on the ground that Dr Candlish had violated an interdict of the Court of Session, in preaching within the bounds of Strathbogie Presbytery. The appointment was cancelled, and Dr Candlish published a spirited and indignant Letter to the Marquis. I have been told that it was composed at one sitting, in the house of an elder whom the Doctor was visiting, for he was then a rapid and legible penman. The speech, which I am about to quote, was one of Dr Candlish's loftiest efforts, and was uttered in the most thrilling tones. There is a slight misprint. In alluding to the attacks to which he was exposed, his words, "set up as a mark for the press and for peers to shoot at," declaimed at the topmost pitch of his voice, with his peculiar burr, produced a profound sensation. They were spoken in St. Andrew's Church, in the afternoon of a lovely summer's day. I seldom pass that church without thinking of the speech and the speaker. Although I have been compelled to censure Dr Candlish's policy as tortuous, I cannot withhold my admiration for his great debating powers, and it must be a poor cause which compels its advocate to depreciate the abilities of his opponents. My position is, that the ten years preceding the Disruption were a stirring period, inaugurated by the Reform Bill of 1832; that all the Scottish Churches were greatly agitated; and that they were all chargeable with acts not much to their credit. In 1841 Dr Candlish would seem to have been horror-stricken at the very idea of schism, and for years to have been praying, in language of the Prayer-Book, for deliverance "from false doctrine, heresy, and [illegible]." His words were:—"The difficulty of our position consists in this, that

and in 1841 that tribunal deposed Mr Wright.* After parties had been removed from the bar, Dr Hill made a very sensible proposal—that a committee should be appointed to confer with Mr Wright, and report after three days. Dr Patrick Macfarlane, who had condemned Mr Macleod Campbell so bitterly in 1831, found the libel clearly proven; and Dr Daniel Dewar, an ex-Congregationalist, partially concurred. Professor Robertson, then Mr Robertson, of Ellon, in supporting Dr Hill's motion for delay, made a few characteristic remarks, recommending delay and mercy. He did not justify every sentiment in the works, but, in answer to the allegation that Mr Wright had

we can neither get relief by going out of the Church, as is proposed by some, nor can we get relief by submitting to the civil courts, as is proposed by others. These two remedies have been proposed; I say not in what spirit. They have been proposed by the enemies of our Church from without, and, I deeply regret to say, we have them too often proposed by our friends and brethren from within. If the matter were indeed personal to myself, I should be grateful and glad for the relief, if I could escape from the difficulties which surrounded us by either of these two ways. If I were to leave the Church of my fathers, I might still worship God elsewhere; if I were to relinquish my position in the Established Church, I know that I could own the Lord Jesus Christ elsewhere, and preach the Gospel of His grace on any part of the earth; and I might, doubtless, then be rid of the embarrassment which now vexes my peace, and hinders all my pastoral work. If, again, I could bring myself to submit to the law, as the civil court is now interpreting and applying it—if I could relinquish my opposition and yield obedience to the orders and interdicts issued, does any man think I am so in love with rebellion?—I, even I, rebel as I am, and taunted as such in the high places, is it to be supposed that I am so insensible to the evils that I suffer—evils affecting my character and my peace, which no man can endure with calmness—set up as a mark for the press and for peers to aim at, exposed to the coarsest reproaches, and the vilest insinuations,—that I would, from the mere love of it, cling to such a post of resistance as I now occupy, if by any means I could reconcile my conscience to giving way? But I *cannot leave my post, whatever I may suffer. I am tied to it, though it were the stake.* I CANNOT LEAVE THE CHURCH, *because I hold sacred the principle of an Establishment, and* I DARE NOT INCUR THE GUILT OF SCHISM. I cannot obey the law in the sense in which I am asked to obey it, because I hold sacred the principle of spiritual independency, and I may never consent to yield Christ's authority to Cæsar. I have no relief either way. My position is fixed. It admits of no compromise, no conformity."

* I was present at the trial, and I have read in the "Witness," May 27th, 1841, a full report of the speeches. Some parts of Dr Candlish's speech are printed in italics—a proof that it was revised by himself. The same favour must have been granted to Mr Bannerman, of Ormiston, who was afterwards made Professor in the Free Church College, Edinburgh; and when the appointment was condemned, Dr Candlish justified it on account of Mr Bannerman's conduct of the Borthwick case in the Dalkeith Presbytery, and a tract against Popery!

avowed them for twenty years, he observed—"That said something against the individual, but did it not say something also against the Church?" Mr Dimma, of Queensferry, as an early friend, bore testimony to Mr Wright's high moral and literary character. Dr George Cook made some very pertinent remarks. "Mr Wright should have had a distinct and clear view of the charges brought against him, that he might be able to reply to them, and that the Superior Court might have been able to lay their hands upon both the charges and the defence. I am convinced that the reverend gentleman charged with the libel has not got all the advantages that might have been expected; that the best means have not been taken to get at the truth in the case; and that, following the same mode, we might find any man guilty of heresy. I believe there was some intimation of the charge of heresy against myself. I who believe myself to have been an orthodox man all my life—I, who, during the whole time, have been a teacher of theology, a professed theologian, and, I may go the length of saying, a philosopher too, do not remember having said or written a single word against our Confession of Faith." Nor were Dr Cook's fears groundless; for when Dr Patrick Forbes, of Old Machar, had dared to construe the 23rd chapter of the Confession of Faith differently from the dominant majority in the Church, Dr Cunningham publicly threatened to libel him before the General Assembly.* Dr Hill's mild and reasonable proposal

* I have not thought it necessary to verify this assertion by reference to the "Witness," or to the "Scotsman," because there must be hundreds of men in Edinburgh who remember the fact. When Dr Charteris, in his Life of Principal Robertson, wrote of the reign of anarchy, I question if he knew of its full extent. Dr Cunningham, though in private life a pleasant, good-humoured man, was in public too much of a gladiator; and he was always too prone to impeach the motives, and to underrate the talents or acquirements of his adversaries. I am tempted to print an anecdote, which is rather memorable. A student from Aberdeenshire, who had received his arts education in St. Andrews, prosecuted his theological studies under Dr Chalmers in Edinburgh. In returning to the North, he called on Dr George Cook, of St. Andrews, to whom he was well known, as he was a grand-nephew of Principal Nicoll's. "Doctor," said the student, "there is a young man in the Edinburgh Divinity Hall who has read all the books about the Church's history and constitution, and who declares that, whenever he is ordained, he will move that the General Assembly should abolish lay patronage." "And ho is that genius?" inquired the Doctor. "His name is Cunningham," replied e student. "Then tell your young friend," rejoined the Doctor, "that he ust not do that—it will provoke a collision with the State." A collision, indeed,

to suspend sentence against Mr Wright, and report the result of the conference with him, was rejected by 195 votes against 85, and he was cast forth as a heretic from the Church of Scotland.*

it did provoke, and Scotland is now suffering from the effects. Dr Cook and Dr Cunningham are now in their graves, and the Divinity student, who first told the St. Andrew's Doctor of the young man Cunningham, after being ten years a minister in the Established Church, and six years in the Free, now belongs to neither. His views on Infant Baptism having undergone a change, he resigned his charge, expressing his earnest wish to remain a member of the Free Church; but the Free Assembly, on the motion of Dr Candlish, refused to comply with it. On the night before his case was heard, he saw his old College friend, Dr Cunningham, who sympathized keenly with his position, and said that nothing but a Divine judgment could crush the sectarian spirit dominant in Scotland. On being urged to repeat this opinion in the Free Assembly, he replied, "That is another question." Dr Cunningham was not a timid man, but his backwardness on this occasion proves what I have often observed, that in private many ministers of the various Presbyterian Churches attach little significance to those petty questions which have split up Presbyterianism into hostile sections, but they are afraid to compromise themselves by a public declaration of their convictions. They might, like Dr Candlish, become marks for people to shoot at, the said people being some over-zealous co-presbyters, or some presbyters of a rival Church, or a fanatical newspaper, or some busybodies, ever ready to breed mischief.

* I subjoin the remainder of Mr Carmichael's interesting and beautiful notice, which embodies literary history:—"Amidst his more recondite speculations and official cares, Mr Wright, about twenty-five years ago, found time to prepare for the press an edition of 'Junius' Letters,' with a preliminary dissertation regarding the authorship of these celebrated compositions. Like Mackintosh, Macaulay, and many others who have essayed to unmask the veiled assassin, Mr Wright imagined that he could detect through every disguise the livid cheek and burning eye of Philip Francis. During the last fourteen years of his life, Mr Wright continued to pursue his linguistic studies, and perform his literary task-work with that silent yet unceasing energy which the tyranny and insolence of faction could neither reach nor subdue. To 'Macphail's Journal,' especially, he contributed an array of articles which, if reprinted collectively, would fill several volumes. Many of these papers, such as the 'Analysis of the Psalms,' the essays 'On the Site of Calvary,' and the 'Death of Cicero,' the reviews of Beattie's Life of Campbell, and of Cockburn's Life of Jeffrey; the critiques of James Burns, and Patrick Scott's poetry, of 'Ferrier's Institutes of Metaphysics,' and of Washington Irving's 'Woolfert's Roost,' are remarkable for eloquence, taste, and scholarship. From this brief retrospect of Mr Wright's literary career we now turn to record the leading particulars of his personal history. He was born in 1784 within that part of the Old Barony of Broughton which is now occupied by Barony Street. For some years after the completion of his academic course in the University of Edinburgh, where he earned the highest distinction in classical and oriental literature, he was much employed in tuition, both private and public. He succeeded Thomas Campbell, the poet, in the appointment of private tutor to the sons of a landowner in Argyleshire, and afterwards officiated as assistant-master in the Burgh School of Musselburgh, then under the superintendence of Mr Taylor, one of the most esteemed and efficient teachers of

Ten years after the Rev. Mr Wright had been dead and forgotten, there was published a bulky volume, which had been delivered in the shape of lectures to orthodox students of divinity. In this volume there were put forth many statements, as it seemed to a reviewer, so opposed to one another, to Holy Scripture, and to the Confession of Faith, that another volume was published to expose them. The reviewer was an Established minister, whose candour towards the ministers of various denominations is manifest in the encomiums bestowed on Principal Hill, Dr John Dick, Dr Cunningham, Dr James Buchanan, Dr W. L. Alexander, and Dr Hanna; while the absence of asperity is equally manifest in his dissent from the theories of Dr John

that day. In this situation he formed a close, and, as the result showed, a life-long intimacy with a fellow-usher, named Carson, who subsequently rose to great eminence in his profession, and became rector of the High School of Edinburgh. In 1817 he was ordained minister of the parish of Borthwick, and there exercised the ministerial office till 1841, when, on the ground of alleged heresy, he was deposed from his charge, and extruded from the ministry of the Church of Scotland by an ecclesiastical sentence on which we forbear to comment. He now quitted for ever the rural manse, which he has described with graphic fidelity and exquisite feeling in 'My Old House,' and returned to his native Edinburgh, where he lived for many years in a cottage a little to the north of the city. In June last he removed to South College Street, and there, after a short illness, happily not attended with severe pain or suffering, he expired on the 13th instant, in the 71st year of his age. To his literary merits and achievements we have already paid our tribute of admiration and respect. The excellence of his pulpit ministrations is attested by an illustrious witness, Sir Walter Scott. On one of his journeys from Abbotsford to Edinburgh, Sir Walter had halted for a Saturday and Sunday at Arniston; and in his Diary, quoted by Lockhart, he says, 'Went to Borthwick Church with the family, and heard a well-composed, well-delivered, sensible discourse from Mr Wright.' His personal character is, in every sense of the phrase, above the need of newspaper eulogy. Probably no clergyman was ever more loved and honoured by the members of his church than Mr Wright was by the parishioners of Borthwick. In all circumstances of perplexity, trial, and bereavement, they found in him a benefactor who could guide and soothe, strengthen and relieve them by his advice, his sympathy, his prayers, and his alms. Since the day of his separation from the pastorate, the memory of his inestimable worth has been cherished by the inhabitants of his former parish with filial reverence and affectionate pride; young children are taught to speak of him as 'the good minister;' and the recent announcement of his death was received by them and their parents alike as the tidings of a domestic calamity. These feelings of sadness and depression are fully appreciated and largely shared by all whom he admitted to the honour of his friendship in Edinburgh and elsewhere. They, too, may look around them wistfully, but in vain, for any other in whom they can recognise such a union of intellect and learning, of benevolence and humour, of childlike simplicity and manly force, of stern independence, and of sincere, humble, and unobtrusive piety, as that which has been buried in his grave."

Young, Dr Bushnell, the Rev. Mr Maurice, and the Rev. Mr Robertson, of Brighton. The lectures are freely but temperately handled, and ample justice is done to "some clear and able views," as well as to "some very ingenious and beautiful illustrations." At the outset the want of a definition of the main topic is remarked; attention is called to phraseology as "somewhat unguarded and inappropriate," and to "assertions which cannot be justified." The interpretation of the latter part of the parable of the Prodigal Son is characterised as one which "will probably be regarded by most people as very surprising, and inconsistent with its whole structure." The lecturer's position that "two persons may stand in the same relation to a third, with no difference but what is purely circumstantial," is reasonably described as "an unreasonable assertion, and as involving statements palpably at variance with one another." Three fallacies are pointed out in the view taken by Dr Candlish of the sonship of believers and of Christ. Referring to an assertion of the lecturer that "in quoting a verse from Proverbs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the inspired writer does not scruple to throw it into New Testament form for the purpose of his inspired New Testament appeal," the reviewer quietly observes, that "it is somewhat unfortunate for the critical remark that the inspired author of the Epistle to the Hebrews happens to quote the verse *verbatim* from the Septuagint;" and he naturally adds, that "if any such free handling of the language of the Holy Scripture is to be adopted by orthodox theologians, I know not with what consistency they can protest against the processes of those who strive, by the more forced and unwarrantable method of interpretation, to explain away a most essential article of revealed truth." Finally, objection is taken to "conclusions unfounded in fact and inconclusive in argument." Certain statements about faith, adoption, and justification, says the reviewer, "seem to me very erroneous, and would require us to reverse the statements of Holy Scripture." Who was the lecturer that indulged in the random assertions, in the forced interpretations, and in the daring assumptions, which seemed so flatly to undermine the standards of the orthodox Churches of Scotland? He was no unfledged probationer, no mere novice in the weapons of theological contro-

versy. He was not a Professor in that Church of which, in the Free General Assembly of 1866, Dr Candlish had declared to a crowded and assenting audience that of "discipline as regards doctrine and worship, there is none in the Church of Scotland."* Neither was he a Professor in the United Presbyterian Church, whose soundness in the doctrine of the Atonement Dr Candlish so gravely suspected for several years after the Disruption. The lecturer was Dr Candlish himself; and the work containing the obnoxious tenets was the Cunningham Lecture, delivered to the divinity students of the Edinburgh Free Church College, of which Dr Candlish is Principal.† Who was the reviewer? He was not a man of strife. He had never taken a prominent part in Church Courts, nor had he exhibited any particular relish for the hunt after heresy. He had raised no cry against sister Churches. But he was a studious, thoughtful, and diligent pastor, who, after discharging his duties quietly, affectionately, and faithfully, in Cults and Glammis, had been translated to a metropolitan church, and thence elevated to the Chair of Theology in the metropolitan University. He was Dr Thomas J. Crawford, author of the "Fatherhood of God, considered in its General and Special Aspects, in Relation to the Atonement, with a Review of Recent Speculations on the Subject, and a Reply to the Strictures of Dr Candlish."‡ Dr Candlish was not the man to submit quietly to such criticism. In his reply he charges Dr Crawford with "unworthy arts of controversy," with "not very creditable conduct," and with "minute special

* See "Scotsman," May 31st, 1866. Dr Candlish might have taken warning from Macaulay's valuable counsel:—"He finds that there is a great difference between the effect of written words, which are perused and re-perused in the stillness of the closet, and the effect of spoken words, which, set off by the graces of utterance and gesture, vibrate for a single moment on the ear. He finds that he may blunder without much chance of being detected, that he may reason sophistically, and escape unrebuked."—(Review of Gladstone on Church and State.)

† After the publication of the "Fatherhood of God," I was told by a Free Church minister, a friend of Dr Candlish, that if the author had not held so high a position as Principal of the Free Church College, he would probably have been libelled for heresy. It is remarkable, too, that Dr James Morrison censured Dr Candlish more severely than Dr Crawford had done, and that about the same time Dr Colenso claimed Dr Candlish as a convert to some of his views—a claim which Dr Candlish indignantly repudiated in a letter to the "Scotsman."

‡ I quote the title of the 3rd edition, published 1868. It contains much more matter than the 1st edition of 1866.

pleading, not to say word-catching, and fence of logic, unfair and invidious glosses;" with "unfair and reckless imputations, without one syllable of proof," and with "most unwarrantable misstatement." Dr Crawford candidly reprints these rather uncourteous epithets in the third edition of his work, and shows them to be quite unfounded. A critic unconnected with the Churches of both disputants pronounces the following estimate of Dr Crawford's mode of conducting the controversy: —"Dr Crawford reasons with the earnestness of one who is contending, not for victory, but for truth; and though his book is thoroughly controversial, he never forgets the courtesy of a gentleman, or suffers himself to take the least unfair advantage of an opponent. Like Dr Hill, he is most particular in stating most accurately the views of those with whom he is debating; and he is never guilty of mistaking a bad name for a good argument."*

History has been defined to be philosophy teaching by examples. Church history has been proverbially a dismal record of a few brave men struggling for truth and freedom, always outnumbered, and often overruled by rivals animated by base passions,—by intellectual arrogance, by spiritual pride, by ostentatious pedantry, by the desire of personal or sectarian aggrandisement. The Church history of Scotland has not been exempt from these distracting influences: the depressing effects of them are manifest in our own times. In 1859, Scotland lost one of her ablest logicians and most skilful professors—a man of profound and exact learning, of elegant culture, of fine critical taste and extraordinary aptitude for developing the faculties of the students who enjoyed the privilege of his prelections in the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews. I allude to the shy, studious, and amiable man whom Professor Masson, one of his successors, truly designated the "accomplished, disciplined, and conscientious Spalding." Professor Spalding was extremely fertile in expedients for arousing the mental activity and testing the real attainments of his students. He delivered lectures characterised by great excellence of matter and beauty of diction; instituted frequent examinations, oral and written, assessing very minutely

* See "United Presbyterian Magazine," October, 1866.

the value of the answers; prescribed written essays, descriptive or argumentative, allowing a judicious latitude in the choice of the topic or thesis, and revising the essays with punctilious care.* He taught philosophy practically by examples. On an examination day the students were required to exercise their logical acuteness on such examples as the following:—"Many idle students, and no industrious ones, will repent of their conduct: Does it follow that industrious students are not idle ones?" "No sound logician is a sophist, while many acute men are: find a good conclusion." "Some of the sciences are not popular, though all of them are valuable; therefore it is not all valuable things that are popular." "Since it is certain that some men are insincere, and that some other men are cowardly, is it a just inference that some insincere persons are cowardly ones?" "Test a particular conclusion from these assumptions—that no lawyer, and all knaves, ought to be suspected." "Not a few students of logic are far from being perfect logicians, for a great many bad reasoners are students of logic, while a perfect logician does not reason badly." "If every measure of State that is

* A judicious and kindly sketch of Professor Spalding, by the late Mr Charles Maclaren, will be found in the 8th edition of the Encyclopædia. I never knew a better Professor in any of our Universities, and I have seen a good deal of four of them. I had read in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1841, a masterly article on "Recent Shaksperian Literature," and was agreeably surprised to find, when I joined the Rhetoric Class in Edinburgh University during the following session, that the author was the new Professor, Mr Spalding, advocate. My class-ticket was No. 1. His first lecture was attended by Lord Jeffrey, Sir William Hamilton, and other men of literary eminence. He was a young man; but even the crack students of Hamilton and Wilson discovered in a few weeks that they had found a Professor of rare endowments, a model of perspicuity, order, method, and teaching power, to which Hamilton and Wilson had no claim. Beneath a rather reserved manner he concealed a very warm heart. Like Professor Pillans, who cherished a deep affection for him, he watched with constant anxiety the progress of his students in after life, and answered their enquiries in long letters, noted for their elegant phraseology and beautiful penmanship. His Chair in Edinburgh did not yield him more than £200 a-year! As the sagacious and liberal Mr Adam Black observed, such a pitiful income was a scandal to Edinburgh and its University endowments, when this most accomplished and estimable man, who has hardly left his equal in Scotland, was driven to St Andrews in 1845 for the sake of a larger income. Scotsmen were vieing with each other in rearing unnecessary churches, and boasting of their laudable enterprise! How many third-rate preachers would it take to kick the beam when weighed against William Spalding? He died in 1859, the year which removed Sir James Stephen, Lord Macaulay, Thomas de Quincey, and Professor J. P. Nichol.

just is also patriotic, and if nothing that is patriotic is justly describable as a foreign war, what may be inferred as to some foreign wars?" "Infer as widely as you can in regard to just wars, from your knowledge that war is sometimes just, but is always uncertain in its issue."

Professor Spalding's logical exercises may be usefully applied in ecclesiastical and politico-ecclesiastical controversies. Dr Candlish and Dr Crawford have been proved to differ widely, perhaps irreconcilably, on various theological questions. It is extremely improbable that either of the theologians will bow to the authority of the other. But assuming, what is very unlikely, that Dr Crawford were to join the Free Church, would the Free Assembly not receive him with open arms, and hasten to confer on him one of its most valuable theological appointments? And assuming, what is not very likely—though as unlikely things have happened in his eccentric career—that Dr Candlish, in defiance of his Glasgow and Dundee counsellors, were to be seized with a sudden, uncontrollable impulse to return to the Church of his fathers, would the General Assembly of that Church refuse him admission, because his latest and unrepented theological speculations seem to some orthodox Christians not to tally with the Confession of Faith, or with Holy Scripture? Such intolerance is disallowed by sound logic, by practical reason, and by Christian expediency.*

In 1845, within a year of his death, Dr Chalmers had reached the age of sixty-five years. He had mingled in angry discussions and fierce encounters, which were foreign to his naturally sweet and affectionate temper. He was now, to use

* As I used to spend my school vacations at the farms of Priestfield, Bunzion, and Cults, in the parish of Cults, about four miles west of Cupar-Fife, I have a lively recollection of the parish, which lies mostly, if not wholly, within the domains of the ancient Earls of Crawford. The patronage is vested in the Senate of Saint Andrew's University. I believe Dr Crawford, then minister of the parish, was the first Established minister that I heard preach, and the youngest ordained minister I had ever seen. He was a very instructive, animated preacher, and much liked by his congregation. If I remember rightly, he read his lecture, and delivered his sermon without notes, thus combining the advantages of both methods. Before the Disruption he was translated to Glammis, four miles west of Forfar, a much larger parish than Cults. There he was also much beloved. In neither of his parishes was there a Free Church formed after the Disruption, and there were very few Dissenters, thus proving how much the increase of separatists from the Church of Scotland depends on the efficiency and acceptableness

the fine words of the poet Campbell, in the sunset of life, that imparts that "mystical lore" which is the inheritance of a venerable old age. Sick of controversies, which had so fearfully retarded his favourite plans for "humanizing and beautifying" the Scottish population, he was busied with his pamphlet on the Evangelical Alliance, an association, founded in 1844, for the purpose of uniting in Christian fellowship and enterprise men who had been too long and too keenly at variance without any justifiable reason. In this pamphlet he had to deal with the proper place and use of Confessions of Faith. "I look," said he to one of his daughters, "on Catechisms and Confessions as mere landmarks against heresy. If there had been no heresy they wouldn't have been wanted. It's putting them out of their place to look on them as magazines of truth. There's some of your stern orthodox folk just over ready to stretch the Bible to square with their Catechism: all very well, all very needful as a landmark; but [kindling up] what I say is, do not let that wretched, mutilated thing be thrown between me and the Bible."* "Bacon," said his daughter, "compares the Bible to the well-spring, and says he were a huge fool that would not drink but from a tank."

of the minister. One of Dr Crawford's predecessors in Cults was the father of the celebrated painter, Sir David Wilkie, whose "Pitlessie Fair" was one of his earliest pictures. Next came the scholarly and witty Dr Gillespie, afterwards Latin Professor in St Andrews. On the slab over the garden door he caused to be engraved the following couplet, still, I presume, legible:—

Inveni portum; spes et fortuna, valete;
Sat me lusistis; ludite nunc alios.

Dr Gillespie was succeeded by the Rev. George Crawford, an elder brother of the doctor, who died in Cults. His successor was Dr Cook, now of Haddington, whom I can hardly remember, and on his removal there arrived the youthful Rev. Thomas J. Crawford. His father was the predecessor of Dr George Cook in the Moral Philosophy Chair of St Andrews. Many of my readers may think that there is too much of Fifeshire in this Essay. But I beg of them to reflect that it is no ordinary county; it was anciently designated the "Kingdom of Fife." Saint Andrews possesses the oldest University of Scotland: it was once the seat of an Archbishop; it was the cradle of the Reformation; it educated Thomas Chalmers and George Cook, the leaders of the two contending parties in the great Non-Intrusion struggle, and John Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of England. In Mr Ellice, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr Sinclair Aytoun, and Mr Henry Campbell, it boasts of four of the most useful and efficient of the Scottish representatives in the House of Commons. No one, therefore, ought to speak or think meanly of Fifeshire.

* See note P, Appendix, for an estimate of the value of Confessions, by the late Rev. Dr Dick, late Professor of Theology in the United Secession Church.

"Ha! ha! where does Bacon say that? it's nasty in the tank, too, whiles!"* The conversation turned upon Mr Carlyle, for whom he cherished great regard and admiration. "It's a most interesting phenomenon to me, Carlyle's mind. The lad, looking with a most graphic and intelligent eye on the peculiarities of Calvinism, having a sort of regard, too, for them, and yet"† . . . During the quarter of a century which has passed since Dr Chalmers spoke these homely words, the feeling, not of sceptics and scoffers, but of very many intelligent and devout men, against the excessive stringency of Confessions has been greatly confirmed. No attentive observer can be blind to those signs which are clear as a sunbeam. The prevalence of a feeling does not prove conclusively that it is justifiable, but it suggests a doubt which merits examination. Our retrospect of Scottish Church history since 1732 is fraught with precious lessons to the descendants of the disputants who mingled in the conflict. It is needless to recapitulate the

* See Hanna's "Life of Dr Chalmers," vol. iv., p. 456. After the publication of this charming biography, which informed the outer world that Chalmers, the impetuous orator, was a most methodical man of business, and a man of the most tender family affections, it was alleged that the work had been instrumental in making several converts to the Free Church. After the lapse of twenty years, let Dr Hanna tell in his own words to what Church he belongs. "He had been asked to respond for the clergy of all denominations. He did so because he believed he was a clergyman of no denomination. He had brought himself out of the belief in denominationalism—of Free Church, or Establishment, or any Church in this country; and he looked forward to the time when the clergy should give themselves to the one single thing they had to do with—the spiritual instruction of the people. As to that, he hoped there would be deeper and stronger impressions regarding the great truths they had as clergymen to deal with, and that they would have wider and broader sympathies with the whole mass of the population." (Applause.) See "Scotsman," November 8th, 1869, for report of a dinner given by the Directors of the Philosophical Institution. If Dr Hanna has come to this conclusion, one is naturally inclined to wonder whether Dr Chalmers would not be of the same mind, if he were alive. I can state authoritatively that Dr Hanna is in favour of a United Church, retaining the endowments, and working out the territorial principle.

† There is something significant in the "and yet," reminding one of the "aber" ("but"), the last dying words of Frederick Schlegel, who was a pervert to Romanism. In taking up Mr Arnot's Life of Dr James Hamilton, published in 1870, my eye fell on the following extract from Dr Hamilton's letter, dated July 16th, 1847:—"Mr Ross [English Presbyterian minister at Brighton] knows Carlyle; and I think has a slight infusion. I charged him with it, but he disowns it." Not very long after, Mr Ross was deposed by the London Presbytery for doctrines quite in accordance with Mr Carlyle's teaching. The influence of the sage of Chelsea, as his admirers style him, over John Sterling may be seen in Mr Carlyle's uncomfortable Life of that gifted but ill-fated young clergyman.

causes of the various "schisms of schisms," as a writer in the "Quarterly Review" has properly termed them. The promoters of them doubtless believed that they were doing a good work, and discharging an imperative duty. Without seeking to justify or to condemn their conduct, it may be safely affirmed that few men of common Christian charity would now dream of renewing their disputes. What concerns us is present duty with regard to the future. The Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechism, Larger and Shorter, are the doctrinal standards of the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland, and, excepting the 23rd chapter of the Confession, of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches; but what proportion of these documents is obligatory on members has never been precisely and definitively fixed. The Westminster Assembly of Divines contained many profound scholars and theologians. They were nearly one hundred in number, they held 1163 sessions, and took five years and-a-half to bring their labours to an end; but they were not infallible any more than the famous Roman Catholic Councils by which they were preceded, and many theologians, who have held their summary as perfect, yield them a homage which they would have repudiated.* Admitting the truth of a statement of a distinguished member in the last General Assembly, that the Confession is the magnificent work of a magnificent age, it is contended by such men as Dr Tulloch that it is not fully intelligible to those who are not conversant with the theological discussions of the seventeenth century. In the last Free General Assembly Dr Candlish and Dr Wood, of Dumfries, put very different interpretations on its Atonement doctrines;† and even Dr Gibson, no stickler for doctrinal innovations,‡ has confessed that certain

* Very recently I conversed with a United Presbyterian elder, an extreme Voluntary, who was declaring his high admiration of the Confession of Faith, when I ventured to express my surprise and regret that the Westminster Divines had not been sufficiently enlightened to perceive the Scriptural authority for Voluntaryism. Christ's answer to Pilate—"My kingdom is not of this world," on which so many Voluntary sermons have been preached, is well expounded by the Duke of Argyll in pages 370 and 371 of his "Presbytery Examined."

† See "Scotsman," May 27th, 1869.

‡ See Dr Gibson's speech, reported in "Scotsman," May 31st, 1866. Dr Hetherington (Presbyterian) accuses the Independent members of the Westminster Assembly of constant intrigues; while Dr Price (Baptist) charges the Presbyterians with attempts to override the Independents.

members of the Westminster Assembly attached very different meanings to their own handiwork. The Atonement controversy in the United Secession Church, in 1845, revealed an unquestionable diversity of sentiment in regard to this doctrine; and there are valid grounds for believing that the doctrinal views of the United Presbyterian ministers have since that time been diverging still farther from its authority. If it be inferred that these reflections imply the propriety of rejecting all written standards, the inference is mistaken. Certain doctrinal confessions are necessary for every Church as its basis of union.* That all the ministers and members of a Church should be unanimous on as large a body of doctrines as possible, is very desirable. That the whole Confession of Faith has ever been believed by all the ministers of any large Presbyterian Church, is very doubtful. That this holds true in the present day surely no tolerably well-informed person will have the hardihood to assert, or the credulity to believe. If it be asked what doctrines might be matters of forbearance, the most intelligible answer may be embodied in the expression of grave doubts whether the Established General Assembly acted wisely in deposing the Rev. John Macleod Campbell in 1831, and the Rev. Thomas Wright in 1841; and whether the United Secession Church might not have retained the Rev. James Morison in the latter year. While Mr Campbell and Mr Wright retired into seclusion, Dr Morison has founded a denomination which has been shown to hold doctrines virtually the same as those preached or sanctioned by certain ministers of every Scottish Presbyterian Church. Supposing that scruples on Church government were overcome, would any very baneful heresies be taught by such men as the Rev. Dr Vaughan, the Very Rev. Dean Macneile, and the Rev. Canon Dale; by the Rev. Thomas Binney, the Rev. Dr Raleigh, and the Rev. James Parsons; by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, the Rev. Dr Brock, and the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown ?† or by

* During the latter part of 1869, there was a protracted correspondence in the "Scotsman" on the terms of Church membership, one of the correspondents, signing himself "Sexaginta, an Ex-Free Church minister," making the strange suggestion that candidates for the communion ought merely to be required to manifest a competent acquaintance with the historical portions of Holy Scripture, and to possess a good moral character.

† Mr Noel, Dr Brock, and Mr Stowell Brown, are Baptists, but in England many Baptists are members of Congregational churches which practise Infant

the Rev. Dr Arthur, the Rev. W. Morley Punshon, and the Rev. W. B. Pope? When Presbyterians embrace an opportunity of attending the religious ministrations of such preachers, is it to detect doctrinal errors? Is it not to receive the instruction and consolation common to the creeds of all the denominations represented by their honoured names?*

No Scotsman who is a lover of his country or of his Church can fail to respect the Scottish Sunday. If any one infers, from my despair of securing unanimity on petty doctrinal questions, that I am indifferent as to what is thought of the

Baptism. Robert Hall's great struggle in his ministerial career was not to dispute with Pædo-Baptists, but to restrain the intolerance of his own members, the close communionists, who proved troublesome to him and to his able and immediate successor in Leicester, the Rev. J. P. Mursell, who is still living.

* It is very probable that this avowal will provoke the displeasure of Dr Gibson, Dr Begg, and other prominent members of the Anti-Unionist party in the Free Church. I cannot help that. Their consistency in supporting what are termed Disruption principles I have fully vindicated, but I regard their views as quite too narrow in some respects. That a Church based on such views is desirable, admits of question. That it would maintain its position unchanged for a considerable length of time is very improbable. The defection, in 1863, of the Reformed Presbyterians from their dearly-cherished tenets on the sinfulness of swearing allegiance to a Non-Covenanting Sovereign, warrants me in expressing the prediction. I suspect that their defection was hastened by several of their members joining the Volunteer movement. In 1859, Mr David M'Cubbin, a highly-intelligent Glasgow accountant, was elected a town councillor, although he was a member of Dr Symington's Reformed Presbyterian Church. Unknown to him, his case was brought before the Session, which declined to deal with him. On appeal, the Presbytery took the same view, but the protesters carried the matter before the Synod, and the Councillor was surprised to find in the newspapers the "Case of Mr M'Cubbin" duly reported. The Synod dismissed the complaint, thus showing their declension from their hitherto inexorable rules. Mr M'Cubbin is now, I believe, a member of the Established Church.—In some of the American Presbyterian Churches undue importance was once attached to the Millennium question. It will be perceived from the extract in the Appendix that Mr Gilfillan has renounced his belief in the Millenarian theory, and is needlessly ashamed of having ever advocated it; but it is still held by three brothers, whose unostentatious piety, catholic spirit, and evangelistic zeal, have done more for the Free Church than the contention of a score of her wranglers in Church Courts. These are Dr Horatius Bonar, of Edinburgh; the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, of Glasgow; and the Rev. John James Bonar, of Greenock. Dr Bonar's hymns are sung in England by tens of thousands of devout worshippers who know nothing of the Free Church of Scotland. The Millenarian theory is strongly advocated by several eminent clergymen of the Evangelical party in the Church of England, which comprises a small section called the Prophetic School. Mr Sturrock's Catechism fixes the year 493,410 for the second coming of Christ to judge the world. In Acts i. 7. Christ himself told His inquisitive disciples, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power."

seventh day of rest, he is much mistaken, and I beg of him at once to disabuse himself of his misconception. On this subject I have seen and thought enough to enable me to form a sound judgment. My observation has utterly failed to convince me of the superior advantages of a continental Sunday, of which I have had some experience in Roman Catholic France, in nominally Calvinistic Holland, and in Lutheran Germany. My first Sunday morning in Paris was ushered in by the sound of the masons' tools on an adjoining roof, and I was aroused from a profound sleep on a Sunday morning at Wiesbaden, near the Rhine, by the rehearsal of a theatrical orchestra. Now, I believe that Scotland is all the wiser and better for its repugnance to such occupations or recreations. Sunday, or Sabbath, as the Puritans termed it, ought to be emphatically a day of rest for the body and the soul—a season of respite from bodily and mental toil. Fully convinced, as I am, that such respite will never be secured by mere physiological or æsthetical considerations, which, however, ought not to be undervalued, I contend for the decent and devout observance of the Sunday. It is or ought to be pre-eminently the poor man's day, and he is the worst enemy of the sons of toil who seeks to rob them of their divine heritage. What sleep is to the fatigue resulting from a hard day's work, the Sunday ought to be to the six days which precede it. How many have experienced the misery and exhaustion of sleepless nights, to behold the dawn which sheds no joy on their throbbing brain and aching brows! How precious to them, in the words of Macbeth—

> "—— The innocent sleep;
> Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care,
> The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
> Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
> Chief nourisher in life's feast!"*

In like manner the overworked labourer will exclaim with Herbert—

> "—— O Day, most calm, most bright,
> The fruit of this, the next world's food,
> The world were dark but for thy light!"

* Act ii., Scene 2nd (Clark's edition).

In a brilliant speech which I heard Mr Macaulay deliver in the House of Commons in 1846, he expressed his conviction that to the enjoyment of a national Sabbath for three hundred years Britain owed her superiority in strength and skill among the powers of Europe.* To that opinion I humbly but heartily assent. If the seventh day's rest had not been divinely ordained, and if it had not been enforced by rulers influenced by the Word of God, I verily believe that human impiety, selfishness, and profligacy would long ago have banished it from the earth. Frivolous foreigners and degenerate Scotsmen may sneer at the Scottish Sunday, which I do not defend in every respect; but society was never regenerated by sneers. Yet I must fence my position with certain limitations. Many good Christians, not content with enjoying the right of independent thought and action, are not satisfied unless their neighbours conform to their modes of thought and action; hence the breach of charity. The day has not long gone by when fast-days were not only universally observed, but Church members not observing them were subjected to Church censure. At present they are quite unknown in some United Presbyterian congregations, in which the employments of the members

* On referring to the report of the speech, revised by himself, and inserted in his volume of speeches, I find one short passage misreported. In speaking of the effects of excessive toil, he lowered his voice, and said in a plaintive tone, unusual with him, "It oppresses the body, it saddens the spirits." Opposite to Mr Macaulay sat Mr Disraeli, who leaned forward with crossed arms, gazing earnestly on the triumphant advocate of the Ten Hours' Bill, and cheering heartily. Next to Mr Disraeli sat Lord George Bentinck, who had shortly before became famous by his attacks on Sir Robert Peel. The House was crowded and excited, it being a grand field night. Around me in the gallery was a group of artisans from the North of England. They had seen Mr Macaulay at the Albany during the day: he had promised to speak in favour of this bill, and nobly did he redeem his promise. A few months previously, Mr Bright had declared that, if he ever envied any man, it was Sir Robert Peel at the conclusion of one of his great speeches against the Corn Laws. I should have rather envied Mr Macaulay for his noble vindication of the bill which protected feeble women and children of tender age from the rapacity of heartless employers. Justice requires me to add that the bill was introduced, and on all occasions unflinchingly supported, by Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the few men living who has refused high office from all political parties, and who is perhaps above and beyond them all. Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., who was a plodding economist, designated him a humanity-monger. A hundred Earls of Shaftesbury would render England a much wiser, holier, happier country than she is likely to prove with a thousand Joseph Humes.

would seriously interfere with their attendance at church. It is not long since any person who questioned the obligation of fast-days would have been suspected of something worse; and the same person who ridiculed the observance of Christmas never fancied that there was as little warrant for his yearly or half-yearly fast.* In like manner, no Church can expect to retain the power of enforcing the ancient austere manner of keeping the Sunday.†

Luckily, few Scotsmen deny the divine obligation of the Day of Rest, and those who do so may thank the majority for the repose, tranquillity, and order which they enjoy on that blessed day. But a privilege must not be perverted into

* Scottish fast-days appear to be doomed. Are we not to have other days of rest and devotion to replace them?

† In order to show that the Sunday exercises were too oppressive for young persons, I present the reader with some reminiscences of a Sunday in a Burgher Seceder manse, nearly forty years ago. In the forenoon service the first psalm was prefaced with an exposition, and the lecture was very long, being bisected by the singing of a psalm. In the afternoon the sermon also was long, and after the congregation dispersed, attendance at the Sunday school was enjoined for the sake of example. In the evening the family were required to repeat the third part of the Shorter Catechism, so that the whole was gone over every third week. Each of six sons and daughters was next examined in turn in the Bible and Divinity generally, and the two servants of the house were similarly catechised. One or more of the family having given an accurate report of "heads and particulars" of the sermon, a suitable exhortation was addressed to all. Then came the reading aloud of a sermon, commonly one by the Rev. John Walker, minister of the High Church, Edinburgh, or by the Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., Yale College, which was followed by reading from a memoir of some recently deceased minister belonging to the "body." I wonder if any boys of ten years and upwards are still catechised as thoroughly. Yet all this catechising did not prevent three members of that little circle from leaving their paternal communion. When the father was preaching elsewhere, the probationer supplying his pulpit restricted himself to his public duty, and there were no "questions" at night. If he were communicative, he entertained the household with accounts of his birthplace, kindred, and education, dwelling on the schoolmasters and professors by whom he had been trained, venturing a question occasionally on the popularity of Burgher Seceder ministers in the vicinity, and reflecting doubtless on his own prospects of obtaining a settlement. Much entertaining information regarding this interesting class will be found in a work formerly quoted, Landreth's "Life of Dr Adam Thomson." In well-conducted families considerable difficulty is felt in spending Sunday evening devoutly without repulsive austerity. I think that Lord Cockburn, in one of his books, tells how the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, who was reputed a very pious man, used to invite to his house, on Sunday evening, several young gentlemen, companions of his son, and to regale them with roast ducks, negus, and powerful talk. I have not been able to find the passage, but I am tolerably certain that it occurred in the first edition. I own that the statement surprised me considerably. On the last

a penance. We are Christians, not Jews. All those whose circumstances enable them to abstain from every kind of secular work, who live in cheerful homes, and who have easy work during the week, ought to pity those who rise early and retire late to rest, who toil hard to earn a scanty livelihood, and whose whole life is spent either in an unwholesome workshop or in a dingy, miserable dwelling, surrounded by a degraded and criminal population, from which their poverty debars their escape.* Walk through the filthy lanes of the Canongate in Edinburgh, or of the Gallowgate in Glasgow. Hardly a window commands a view of the sky; the houses almost meet overhead; the nose is offended with noisome smells; the ear

Sunday evening which Dr Arnold spent on earth, he wrote thus:—"June 5th, 1842.—I have just been looking over a newspaper, one of the most painful and solemn things in the world, if it be read thoughtfully. So much of sin, and so much of suffering in the world, as are there displayed, and no one seems able to remedy either. And then the thought of my own private life, so full of comforts, is very startling, when I contrast it with the lot of millions whose position is so full of trouble. May I be kept humble, and may God give me grace to labour in my generation for the good of my brethren and for His glory! May He keep me His by night and by day, and strengthen me to bear and to do His will, through Jesus Christ!"

* I can never forget the mournful complaint, made to me in 1842, by the wife of a decent artisan, who had come to Edinburgh from Stow, a quiet parish in the tranquil vale of Gala. The man had left Stow to provide for his increasing family, and had hired a house near the West Port—rendered infamous by the Burke and Hare murders. His wife was a fine specimen of a mother of the Scottish peasantry. Both she and her husband were members of the United Secession Church. They were most solicitous for the education and spiritual welfare of their children, who were rosy, artless, and interesting. No sooner had the parents settled in Edinburgh than they were shocked to hear their boys, and even girls, using words which had never been heard in their native vale. They were no longer enjoying their cottage and garden, but living in constant contact with filthy, drunken, Irish Papists, venting their peculiar, revolting oaths. The habit of profane swearing seems to be on the increase, and is very reprehensible. Leigh Hunt, no purist certainly in doctrine, held swearing to be a proof that the swearer was deficient in the resources of the English language, and, therefore, refrained from oaths. Long ago I knew a modern Sadducee, who was consistent in his language, and never used in vain the name of God, or of the devil, or of hell. He never assailed my faith, and I do not remember that I ever rudely questioned his; at all events he was a well-read, companionable man. There are various kinds of infidels, ranging from the ribald scoffer, whose wickedness is proclaimed in his daily life, to the meditative sceptic, whom the logic of difficulties has driven into a shoreless ocean of unbelief. Christians are apt to treat the latter class too harshly in the relations of private life. I could name a man, long, and still, a professing unbeliever, who is anxious that his son, a youth of great promise, should become a Christian minister.

is assailed by discordant cries, perhaps by frightful curses. On the Sunday evening, when summer has gladdened and beautified the land, the sickly artisan walks forth, not alone, or with his fellow-workman, but with his wife and family, he bearing the infant in his arms, she leading a child by the hand, all decently attired. They have not come forth to worship Nature's God—that is often the language of cant; they have worshipped God in His sanctuary. They are in quest of pure air, and calm contemplation, and healthful exercise. No human creature, not even an animal, is impressed to minister to their enjoyment. Are they guilty of sin or Sabbath-breaking in their quiet stroll? Yet I have heard such artisans denounced as if their Sabbath-breaking had been a sin as heinous as theft or falsehood. We tread on far more debatable ground when we come to travelling by railway, cabs, omnibuses;* the opening of museums, picture-galleries, botanic gardens, and other similar places of public resort. Touching all such recreations, this rule admits of wholesome and universal application—that every enlightened and humane Christian, though he can see no harm in countenancing some of these resorts, will shrink from impressing into his service any man whose poverty may render him willing to sell his labour, and whose ignorance prevents him from recognising his own duty. I will go even further, and say that we ought

* I dare say that many persons who travel by omnibuses on Sunday never think of the hardships to which the drivers are put. Some years ago, when in Liverpool, I sat beside the driver of the omnibus plying between Kirkdale and the Exchange, a very crowded and dangerous thoroughfare. The driver, who was a Bristol man, told me that he drove sixty miles a-day, and that he was always afraid of accidents and the police. He had Sunday rest only every third week. "You see, sir, I never see my children except asleep; my Sunday is only clean shirt day. They are better off in Manchester. There's a kind omnibus owner there, a Scotchman, Mr Ivie Maclachlan. His omnibuses don't run on Sunday, and he has been over at Liverpool, and given us ever so many fine speeches; but it's no good. It's a wicked, unfeeling town is this Liverpool. I wish I was back in Bristol again. I'm told we drivers are better off in Scotland." This conversation was not held on Sunday, but I often think of the driver's touching words, and I feel a pride in his quoting a countryman's advice and example. In that Liverpool thoroughfare the horses run fifteen miles a-day, and sometimes die off after a few weeks' trial. Can this driver, and hundreds of thousands like him, be expected to convey religious instruction to their sleeping children? Mr Melly, a Liverpool merchant, who is M.P. for Stoke-on-Trent, and a Socinian, proposes that children shall receive secular education on five days of the week, and religious instruction on Saturday and Sunday. Has Mr Melly learned to see through a milestone?

to be very cautious how far we throw temptations in the path of those who may appeal to our readiness to buy their labour as an excuse for their consenting to sell it.* And

* How often have I been told by persons who ought to know better that the officials who are employed on Sunday to minister to the enjoyment of Christians are paid for their work! It needs no ghost to tell us that. But some of these unthinking Christians appear to wish that Jews and Mahometans should turn up to perform such Sunday work. Other country-loving Christians, again, appear to think that they exalt their own intelligence, and degrade that of their more homely neighbours, by invading peaceful districts and storming public-houses in the character of *bonâ-fide* travellers, and when they are denied admission, they forthwith rave and storm about cant. If religious cant is offensive, other sorts of cant are not less so. How often are we deafened with the cry that it is impossible to make people religious by Act of Parliament! Not a doubt of it. I think it was Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., who invented, or at least popularised, this cry, which is so often raised against the present useful law for closing taverns at seasonable hours, which the country owes to Lord Kinnaird and Mr M'Laren, M.P. Opponents of the Act reason on the assumption that people ought to be permitted to drink in public as much and as long as they please. If excessive drinking never led to breaches of the peace, or to pauperism, which the soberer people must pay for, there would be some force in this argument. Consistency would require such objectors to condemn enactments relating to practices such as thimble-rigging, betting-houses, light weights, registration, vaccination, and other nuisances, in which the offender injures himself, or society, or both. Many a drunkard, doubtless, who awakes in the morning with reeling brain, parched mouth, and empty purse, wishes that the law had been more stringent. If any citizen has no greater grievance than the Public-Houses Act, he must be a happy man, and on the confines of Utopia, if not within them. In the Free Church Assembly of 1866, the case of Mr William Robertson led to a long discussion. Mr Robertson was a member of the congregation of the Rev. Mr Bremner, Glasgow—a minister who had made himself conspicuous by squabbles with his office-bearers, and by denouncing Saturday evening concerts for the operative classes. Mr Robertson had been a compositor for twenty years in the "Citizen" office at twenty-seven shillings and sixpence a-week. To meet the wants of an increasing family, he removed to the "Herald," with thirty-five shillings a-week, and was required to work on Sunday afternoons, for which Mr Bremner deprived him of church privileges, in spite of Mr Robertson's informing him that there were in the same office several Free Church compositors, who worked on Sunday without incurring such censure. On an appeal to the General Assembly, Mr Robertson showed that Mr Bremner had hired a carriage on Sunday, and driven to Paisley to preach for a brother minister there. Referring to an assertion that the "Daily Review" required no Sunday labour, he answered—"The 'Daily Review' of to-day (Monday) has a whole column of Mr C. H. Spurgeon's sermon delivered yesterday afternoon." (Roars of laughter, and eager looks towards Mr Spurgeon, who was present, and occupied a seat in the members' side bench on the right of the moderator.) Dr Candlish moved the dismissal of the appeal, and was seconded by Dr Begg, and the appellant was cast out from the Free Church. Not long after, Dr Begg and Dr Candlish had a serious difference—a very common occurrence. At a meeting of the Free Church Commission, Dr

to speak plainly, I cannot understand how, if museums which are maintained by the public funds are to be opened, a company of players, who receive no subsidies, should be debarred from giving theatrical performances on Sunday, and taking their "relâche" or holiday on Monday, as they do in Paris. No man sanctified the Sabbath and hallowed it more conscientiously than the late Dr John Brown. There is no record of his having ever travelled by rail on that day; yet,

Begg carried a motion censuring Sir Henry Moncreiff for some act as clerk of the Assembly. Dr Candlish was wroth because the motion had been brought forward late at night, after he had gone home—so wroth that he actually wrote to the "Scotsman" to inform Dr Begg that such a manœuvre would not be tolerated in a club of gentlemen; *but he wrote on Sunday!* If Dr Begg and Mr Robertson are vindictive men, which I trust they are not, how they must have chuckled over Dr Candlish's indiscretion! If Mr Robertson had been allowed to disclose the names of the Free Church ministers who had sent MS. to the "Herald" on Sunday, there would have doubtless been some disclosures of a startling character. Dr Gibson bore a prominent part in this prosecution: indeed, this usually happens when any unpopular business must be done, and when other brethren with less clean hands absent themselves, pleading country engagements. It is to be regretted that daily newspapers require so much, if any, Sunday toil. For my own part, I am quite willing to wait for the Monday's paper till noon, or later, and I am sure that journalists and compositors share my opinion. I almost wish I could recall the good old time when the "Scotsman" and the "Witness" appeared on Wednesday and Saturday, with good parliamentary digests, instead of the hurried telegrams now-a-days. The "Scotsman" was then edited by the late Mr Charles Maclaren, an able, kindly, humorous writer, and Mr Duncan M'Laren, M.P., no kinsman of the editor, was a frequent and valued contributor. The "Witness" was sure to contain a powerful article by Hugh Miller, who was a riddle to us students. Geology was all his own. Theology, poetry, metaphysics, politics, literature, church history, were discussed by him with more skill and felicity than by most of our professors or ministers. Yet he had never been at a University. The late Professor Robertson, of Edinburgh, who was a member of the Poor Law Commission, writes on March 18th, 1843:—"By-the-by, the editor of the "Witness" was this day examined before the Commission. He is a strange-looking red-haired man, by no means particularly ready in his answers." But Hugh Miller thought Professor Robertson a strange-looking man too! Both were so when I first saw them, and they belonged to a type of men rare on the south of the Dee, possessing strong latent faculties and great power of will. Natives of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray push their way bravely in every occupation all over the globe, and I attribute their success mainly to the superior and efficient parish schools in those counties. In conversation Hugh Miller was fully as embarrassed as Sir William Hamilton. Miller read his lectures diffidently and tolerably well: Hamilton's reading was admirable; it was manly, vigorous, and even eloquent. To hear Hamilton trace the history of a philosophical principle through the various schools was a grand exhibition. Though a formidable controversialist, as Whewell, De Morgan, Archdeacon Hare, and the Free Church knew, he was proverbially kind, courteous, and accessible to his students.

considering that the rail had by Act of Parliament been enabled to supersede the stage-coaches, and that the poor were unable to hire post-horses, he was not unfavourable to Sunday morning and evening trains. Much as one may dislike the sound of the railway whistle, the escape of steam, and the bustle at the station, nothing but a moral perversion of judgment can reconcile him to the dashing of cabs and omnibuses through the streets, thus robbing both men and beasts of their much-needed repose. But the people who use them for frivolous reasons consult merely their own convenience, and are as reckless of the wants of the drivers and the horses as are those artisans who, while battling stoutly for the privileges of their own trade, are quite willing to sacrifice the interests of any other.

Of late years, Sunday evening meetings have been organised, in London and other large towns, by scientific gentlemen, and other professed reformers who know little or no science, for the delivery of lectures on secular subjects. With marvellous inconsistency, these denouncers of cant and hypocrisy, of whom many do not scruple to avow their contempt for Holy Scripture, and their denial of the possibility of proving any historical revelation, strive to render the performance more edifying and attractive by the introduction of sacred music ! *

* In referring to this class, which seeks to amuse people on Sunday nights, the Rev. John Pulsford, of Edinburgh, lately told his hearers that, if he had not a more solemn message, he would be ashamed to bring them together : he would meet them in the market, or on the hustings, or at the Philosophical Institution. In September last, the newspapers recorded the fact that the Rev. George Anthony Denison, Vicar of East Brent, and Archdeacon of Taunton, had played a cricket match with his parishioners on a Sunday afternoon between sermons. This irreverent parson is a vehement partisan of the Anglo-Catholic school, and, like Dr Pusey, he is always officious in any movement against clergymen of the Low Church and Broad Church. In 1853 he preached three sermons on the Real Presence, and in 1856 he was deprived of his ecclesiastical office by a Court held at Bath, over which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided ; but the sentence was quashed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on account of some technical informality. Seeing that he was born in 1805, his cricket match is a proof of his agility. He would reintroduce the Book of Sports, amuse the people on Sundays with the usual concomitant—the slavish surrender of their judgment to priestly authority in religious questions. Shortly after this exhibition, a bill-poster was fined in Liverpool for plying his trade on Sunday. How would Oliver Cromwell have dealt with the two offenders ? In the well-known Dundee case, Lord Jeffrey decided in favour of the barber's apprentice, who had been dismissed because he refused to work on Sunday, and his decision was based on the admitted fact that such work was opposed to the law of Scotland.

CHAPTER V.

Instrumental Music in Churches—Claremont United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow—Dr Candlish's Inconsistency—Toleration by the Church of Scotland—English Presbyterian Church—United Presbyterians in England—Psalms and Hymns—Church Liturgies—Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh—Dr John Brown's Opinion and Practice—John Brown, M.D., and Dr Cairns quoted—Dr Arnold's Opinion of the Presbyterian Service in Greenock and Glasgow Churches—Education in Scotland—Change in the View of the English Nonconformists—Education among the Scottish Peasantry—Education and the Early Scottish Seceders—Free Church Schools—Privy Council Grants—Mr Lowe—Mr Lingen—Scottish Educational Machinery—Compulsory Education—Secular Education—Scriptural Education—Mr Bright quoted—Mr Moncreiff's Parliamentary Career—Provincial Academies or Gymnasiums—University Education and Endowments—Scottish, English, Irish, and Foreign Universities.

AN English traveller in Hindustan, having been asked by a native prince to relate the wonders of England, mentioned, among other things, how in winter water was frozen, and could sustain the weight of an elephant. "Stop, now," exclaimed the prince, "I have believed all your tales, but the frozen water I will not believe, sir: it is against all experience." I am now to handle a subject which is so apt to arouse the prejudices of Presbyterians as to unfit them for giving it their unbiassed attention. With great truth has the Duke of Argyll said, "I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that the Scottish Presbytery has left its house of worship needlessly bare of furniture."* In the house of worship, public praise and prayer are offered, and various suggestions have been made towards their more decent performance. That the Scottish psalmody is sometimes not only rude, but positively offensive, nobody possessing the sense of musical harmony will deny. That the teaching of music in schools, and the practice of it in congregations, will go far to develop and refine a musical taste, is

* See "Presbytery Examined."

equally true. That the introduction of instrumental music will always secure the desired end is very doubtful. Besides, the expense of an effective instrument, and of an efficient instrumentalist, is a serious drawback.* Still, much discretion ought to be allowed to the worshippers, and the Established General Assembly acted prudently in their concession. About twelve years ago, Dr MacEwan,† of Claremont United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, introduced an organ, with the consent of his congregation; but, after an excited discussion in the Synod, a considerable majority ordered that it should be no longer played, and it is now silent, though retained till a more tolerant season. Another vigorous effort, indeed, was recently made to allow the organ to discourse sweet music. Dr MacEwan again pleaded hard with the Synod, and the majority would probably have yielded, if the Union question had not proved a bar to their progress. Dr Cairns knew that Dr Candlish and Dr Robert Buchanan had expressed their strong antipathy to organs, and, in order to accelerate the Union, the

* One of the best organists and musical conductors in Britain is Mr Lambeth, the city organist of Glasgow, whom the Town Council of that city invited, in 1853, from England to play the grand organ built for the Glasgow City Hall by Gray and Davidson, London. Mr Lambeth is now organist in the Park Church, and conductor of the Choral Union; and his genius, perseverance, and passionate love of his art have done wonders in extending, elevating, and refining the musical taste of Glasgow. I once expressed to him my surprise that English Dissenting congregations without organs or much training sang so sweetly. His answer was ingenious, and, I apprehend, satisfactory:—"In England there are scattered over the country numerous cathedrals and churches where efficient choirs maintain a high standard of ecclesiastical music, and these indirectly exercise an influence on the Dissenters."

† Dr MacEwan is the son of the late Rev. William MacEwan, Anti-Burgher minister of Howgate, near Edinburgh. His father was closely associated with the late Dr M'Crie in his student life, in 1796, and was much perplexed regarding the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion and doctrine, which at that time caused endless division in the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Churches. Ultimately Mr MacEwan agreed to receive license, and was ordained in Howgate, where he died. His son, Dr MacEwan, has been reproached with introducing an organ into the United Presbyterian Church, and with having produced a schism in the "body," which ought to be "United;" but names can never long conceal facts. What Mr MacEwan, the Anti-Burgher minister at Howgate, might have said and done in our day, no one can tell; but there is no reason to think that he would have been ashamed of him whom some strait-laced United Presbyterians designate his degenerate son. Very possibly John Knox, Andrew Melville, Alexander Henderson, and the Covenanters, if they flourished now-a-days, would repudiate the very men who are always invoking their names and memories, and who seldom take the trouble to investigate the history of the times in which they lived.

organ must remain silent on the margin of Kelvin Grove.* Even if the Union were consummated to-morrow, who can promise that the laity will not insist on having organs wherever they list? Indeed, the London Presbytery of the English Presbyterian Church, which is in close alliance with the Free Church of Scotland, has taken action in the matter without waiting for a signal from their Scottish brethren:—"The

* When the organ controversy was agitating the United Presbyterian Church, Dr Candlish wrote a preface to an old tract against organs; and Dr Robert Buchanan preached a sermon against them on the Sunday when the organ was first played in Dr MacEwan's Church. For a few years previously, Dr Candlish had not only sanctioned the use of a harmonium by Mr Strang, his precentor, in a congregational class for the practice of sacred music, but on one occasion he attended, and expressed his approval of an organ in the church, adding, jocularly, "I dare not introduce one, because I am already called the Pope of the Free Church." I have this from two gentlemen who were members of the class. This inconsistency was equalled by his procedure in the election of Professors for the Free Church Colleges. Dr Islay Burns was a candidate for the Church History Chair in Edinburgh, his rival being Dr Rainy. No unprejudiced judge could question Dr Burns's far superior claim; but Dr Candlish publicly objected to him on account of his nearness of sight, and Dr Rainy was elected. Some years afterwards a similar vacancy occurred in Glasgow by the death of Dr Hetherington. Dr Candlish and Dr Robert Buchanan were bent on excluding Dr Forbes, and brought forward Dr Burns. Dr Burns's defective vision could not have improved during the interval, but Dr Candlish adroitly discovered that the students of Glasgow would be magnanimous enough not to take undue advantage of a physical defect. Are the Edinburgh students wanting in magnanimity? It is amusing to perceive how a clever man can wriggle out of a false position. Is the example a wholesome one? I am tempted to repeat a memorable description of Dr Candlish's policy, given twenty years ago by one of the most eminent ministers of the Free Church, both in authorship and in oratory:—"I never knew a man who was so apt as Dr Candlish to jump into a whin-bush, but then I never knew a man so nimble in jumping out of it." The name of the speaker I omit: it rarely occurs in this work, but he is still living. I have been favoured with the perusal of one of the twenty-five copies of Hugh Miller's "Thoughts on the Educational Question," printed for private circulation, and containing some matter not found in Mr Carmichael's copy formerly mentioned. Even Dr Candlish must admire the playful humour of the following passage:—"These sentences form the greater part of a simple note from a Free Church schoolmaster, which, after running our eye over Dr Candlish's statement in the 'Witness' of Wednesday last—[March 9th, 1850]—we turned us to peruse. There is a wide difference between the two writers. The schoolmaster is evidently a plain homespun man, possessed of no subtilty of intellect; whereas the doctor, on the other hand, resembles the beautiful sorceress in the modern epic, who sat spinning in one of the winter caves of Lapland, when ice and darkness reigned all around, and drew so fine a thread, that only when the flame glanced upon it, as the sunlight glances upon the slim line of the field-spider, was it visible to the eye. And yet intellects of this character are not without their special perils; the mingled web of human affairs must possess always

London Presbytery of the English Presbyterian Church held a meeting on Tuesday evening, at which a most important resolution was adopted. Mr C. E. Lewis proposed that the Supreme Court of the Church should be asked to declare that instrumental music may be used by congregations when two-thirds of the members on the communion-roll, present at a meeting summoned for the purpose, should resolve that such aid to the service of praise should be introduced into public worship. The Rev. Mr Alexander* moved that the overture or request be not transmitted to the Synod. After a lengthened discussion, Mr Lewis's motion was carried by a majority of 21 to 8. This is a decision which materially affects not only the English Presbyterian Church, but the other Nonconformist Presbyterian bodies in the United Kingdom, and especially the Free Church of Scotland, between whom and their English brethren the most intimate relations at present subsist.† In the course of a well-reasoned speech, Mr Lewis laid much stress on the

a certain amount of homely solidity; and, in adding to its tissue, it is possible, as Burns said of his Edinburgh critics, to spin too fine for either warp or woof. The plain practical educator here, who has evidently no ability of fine spinning, will be held to have considerably the advantage over the accomplished convener of the Education Committee, let him draw out his thread in the sunlight as finely as he may. Scholastic niceties, however ingenious in the abstract, never yet resolved a financial difficulty; nor can insolvency or its consequences be obviated by the skilful splitting of hairs with a razor, or by sending gossamer threads through the invisible eyes of scarce visible needles. The only true way of getting quit of a debt or obligation is simply by discharging it."

* I believe this is the Mr Alexander who some years ago tried to frighten people from taking in "Good Words." Is he to succeed Principal Lumsden in Aberdeen?

† See "Christian World," Dec. 17th, 1869. Mr Lewis is, I understand, one of the ablest solicitors in the city of London, the son of an Episcopalian clergyman, and an elder in the church of Dr Roberts, the distinguished author of "Discussions on the Gospels." He is a zealous and munificent supporter of English Presbyterianism, which the sons and daughters of Scotsmen born in England so often abandon for Episcopacy or Congregationalism. It is not generally known that a few organs have been in use in the English Presbyterian Church for some time. It consists with my own knowledge that one has been played in Myrtle Street Church, Liverpool, for six years. The Rev. Mr Arnot, of Glasgow, was called to that church shortly before he was translated to Edinburgh. Although he did not accept the call, an office-bearer of the church has told me that Mr Arnot had no objection to the organ when the case came before the Glasgow Free Presbytery. Dr Robert Buchanan expressed his joy that Mr Arnot had not gone to Liverpool "to hang that wretched organ controversy about his neck." In all likelihood the organ controversy will soon be renewed in Scotland. Such men as Mr Lewis undo very complicated knots. Both the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church in

fact that the Synod had, in decisions in the years 1856, 1857, and 1858, while prohibiting the use of instrumental music, allowed two congregations in the Presbytery of Lancashire to continue its use, for the purpose of showing that there was no principle against such an aid in the praise of the sanctuary, and that these decisions could not be defended on grounds of expediency; for it must either be prohibition in the case of all, or the extension of liberty to all. He also dwelt upon the fact, that the granting of the liberty for which he contended would bring them more into harmony with the other Protestant Evangelical Churches; and in reply to the fears that had been expressed, that the introduction of organs might be regarded as a lowering of their opposition to Popery and Ritualism, said that they should not be deterred by a childish dread of this nature. He was not, he said, to be deterred by the bogle of Popery that had been set up; and he further observed that amongst Baptists, Wesleyans, and Independents, the use of instrumental music was on the increase; and then asked if there were any symptoms of these bodies being affected by Ritualism." Kossuth was wont to dwell frequently on what he termed the logic of events. Accordingly, the "Christian World" of December 24th, 1869, states that "the United Presbyterians in England are prepared to follow in the wake of their English Presbyterian brethren favourable to the use of the organ or harmonium, and have already introduced in Lancashire some half-dozen of the latter into their places of worship in a *sub rosa* fashion; while in their London Presbytery there are three or four. The discussion which is sure to ensue, now that the Rubicon has been crossed, will be animated and exciting; and there is no likelihood that the Union question will keep it any longer in abeyance." Many persons used to imagine that instrumental music was an essential element

Scotland must prepare themselves to face the organ question ere long, and they will act wisely in copying the toleration of the Scottish Establishment. I have not anywhere read a finer passage on the influence of music in subduing the fiercer passions of a hardened soul than in George Macdonald's "Robert Falconer," a book which is very fascinating, though I could have desired the omission of certain remarks on the awful doctrine of future punishments, on the nature and duration of which good men have differed since the time of Origen, but which can be discussed more appropriately in theological treatises.

of Episcopacy; whereas, in many rural English parishes, it is altogether wanting; and Dr Gibson lately stated that it is not used in the Pope's private chapel in Rome, which boasts of the sweetest music in Christendom.

Among the other innovations in the Presbyterian Churches has been the introduction of hymns.* For many centuries prior to the Reformation, congregational singing was excluded, the priests and the choir alone singing. Ample revenues were provided for the maintenance and instruction of the choirs; and, to this day, provincial choirs, like those of York and Durham, compete with those of St Paul's and Westminster. At the Reformation a reaction occurred, and the laity regained their Christian rights. While Calvin was partial to metrical translations of the Psalms, Luther preferred hymns, composed not by Jews, but by Christians; and this difference marked out the Lutheran from the Calvinistic Churches all over Europe. What strikes a stranger as remarkable in the English Church is that, although there is entire uniformity in the prayers, there is endless variety in the hymns.† Just as we find a private bank confined to a single town, so we alight on hymn-books used by Episcopal Churches of a single parish. Among the Dissenters

* I believe that the United Presbyterian Church set the example of introducing hymns into Scotland. The Relief Hymn-Book was superseded, and I remember the publisher regretting the event, adding, "It has done great mischief to Christianity and—my business." In the Free Church Assembly of 1866, Dr Candlish, to pave the way for Union with the United Presbyterians, proposed to treat the Free Church to 25 hymns. Dr Begg said that "the 25 hymns were like the 24 blackbirds baked in the pie. (Cries of Oh, oh! and hisses.) But here they were likely to have nothing but strife and dissension in the Church. (Signs of disapprobation.) They would excuse him, but this homely illustration explained when the pie was opened, and the birds began to sing." (Repeated cries of Oh, oh! and hissing.)

† There are few hymn-books equal to the Hymnology of Sir Roundell Palmer, late Attorney-General for England—a man of great forensic powers, and of unblemished parliamentary reputation. His conscientious scruples on the Irish Church did not permit him to accept the Lord Chancellorship, when so many supple politicians would have kept him in good company; but he remained true to his convictions, and he is now pleading daily before judges, of whom all, except one perhaps, is admitted by the legal profession to be his inferiors in Equity Law—an anomaly which was formerly exemplified by the great Sir Samuel Romilly, who won imperishable honour by his exertions in mitigating the barbarous criminal code of England, and in the abolition of slavery. An intimate friend of Romilly, who committed suicide during a paroxysm of fever three days after his wife's death, was Mr Henry Thornton, M.P., banker, and a writer on the currency, whose Manual of Family Prayer is excelled by few books of the same class.

there is less diversity; but both in the Establishment and among the Dissenters the collections possess various excellence, and the psalms are too much neglected.* The High Churchmen deserve commendation for their services in improving both the architecture and the singing of the Churches.† "Till their epoch," says Conybeare, "the psalmody of a village Church was truly a disgraceful exhibition. A choir, consisting frequently of the most drunken reprobates in the parish, bawled out the '*Hanthem*,' which they sung in *parts*—that is, in a complicated kind of discord. No other music varied the service, except the singing

* It is somewhat remarkable that in England the musical service is very plain, and sometimes positively bad, in those churches where the clergymen are popular and of the Evangelical school. In London three of the largest congregations in the Establishment for many years were those of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, in St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, of the Rev. Thomas Dale, vicar of St. Bride's, and afterwards of St Pancras, and of the Rev. Daniel Moore, successor to the Rev. Henry Melville, of Camberwell. In all of these the music was inferior. In the churches of the Anglo-Catholics, where the music is more artistic and florid, the preaching is mostly formal and insipid, so that good music and good preaching are not always combined, except, perhaps, among the Broad Churchmen. It is curious, too, that offertories, that is, collections taken in ladles from pew to pew after the morning service, are deemed symptomatic of Anglo-Catholicism; yet in some parts of Scotland, such as Tweeddale and Clydesdale, when I knew them, it was the regular custom in the Parish Churches, the collection beginning with the minister in the pulpit, and the offerings being given to the poor. Mr Noel's name recals an old tradition, which is, I believe, well founded. Many years before he left the Church of England he called on the eminent Congregationalist, Dr Pye Smith, and announced his intention to secede, when Dr Smith strongly advised him to remain, because his position would enable him to render more service to religion. He did remain for some years, but at length seceded about twenty years ago. For about six months after that event he worshipped in Dr Hamilton's church, Regent Square, till the publication of his work on Baptism proved that he had abandoned the Establishment for other reasons than those contained in his Essay on the Union of the Church with the State, which had produced so deep an impression. It is also worthy of remark that his work on Baptism has never been accepted as very satisfactory by the Baptists themselves. A very eminent Baptist minister, the son of a Baptist minister, and the father of two Baptist ministers, told me that the only important treatise on Infant Baptism which ever staggered him was Dr Wardlaw's: still he was not reconciled to Psedo-Baptism with "infant sprinkling," as the Baptists generally term it.

† The present version of the Scottish Psalms was introduced in 1650; it was made chiefly by Rouse, and revised by a Committee of the General Assembly The Paraphrases were sanctioned and used in 1781. Mr Sturrock, in his "Catechism for the Times," finds doctrinal errors in Par. xxvii. 5, xxxv. 3, xlvii. 2, li. 10, lvii. 3, Hymn iii. 4, 5. As might be expected, Mr Sturrock, like all the United Original Seceders, would exclude hymns from public worship.—"Do not some assign as a reason why they cannot sing the Psalms that they are not sufficiently spiritual?

of a metrical psalm, from which the poetry had been extracted by Tate and Brady. The instrumental accompaniment of the performance was the squeaking of a cracked flageolet, and the growling of a bass viol. All this is now on the road to amendment. Music is now taking its proper place in public worship. It is a vulgar error that the chanting of the Psalms, and the appropriate singing of the other musical parts of the service, is a difficult feat of art. On the contrary, the best chants are the simplest kind of music known, consisting of a very few notes perpetually reiterated. A congregation can far more easily learn to join in this kind of psalmody than in ordinary hymn-tunes, which are much more complex. We know village churches where the whole congregation join in the strains of Farrant and Tallis, and the Gregorian tones."*

In reference to this subject, Dr Norman Macleod concisely observes:—"Again, as to praise itself, let it be remembered that singing is an *art* which is calculated to quicken holy emotions. God does not ask us to worship with such discordant sounds as must excite very different feelings. Unless we can express our praise *musically*, let us be *silent* in praise,

Yes; but this says little for the taste of such individuals. There may not be so much sentimentalism, but there is far more spirituality; a stronger sense of the majesty of God; more devotion of spirit, more self-abasement combined with holy confidence and earnest longings after God, in the Psalms, than in any hymn-book in existence.—Have not the Psalms a double advantage over all human compositions? Yes; they are at once the expressions of saints' experience and the fruit of inspiration. There is no security for the first in the poems of Cowper, Byron, Watts, Montgomery, &c.; and as for inspiration, it is not pretended."

* See Conybeare's article on "Church Parties," October number of the "Edinburgh Review," 1853. Residents or visitors in Brighton may have worshipped in the Chapel Royal, a plain Episcopalian chapel, so called because it adjoins the Pavilion—a royal residence built by George IV. At the commencement of the morning service, a choir, composed of boys, was wont to chant simply and sweetly the words of the prodigal son—"I will arise and go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." A few yards westward, in North Street, was Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, where the late Rev. Joseph Sortain, an eloquent preacher and a Congregationalist, was pastor. He used part of the Church service, and was equally acceptable to liberal Episcopalians and Dissenters. He was a colleague of Dr Harris in Cheshunt College: his discourses were carefully composed, occasionally adorned with exquisite poetical imagery, and never exceeded half-an-hour in length. Few of the Scottish ministers supplying the pulpit of the Presbyterian Church in 1845 left Brighton without hearing Mr Sortain, unless they were excessive bigots.

as in prayer, and worship in spirit. We otherwise defeat the very end for which music was connected with worship. Finally, why should not the congregation say 'Amen' to prayer as expressive of their sympathy with it? Surely the minister need not intimate his agreement with his own petitions."*

I had written a short chapter on liturgies and forms of public prayer, but I have suppressed it for want of space. Much misunderstanding has arisen from confounding private with public prayer. The latter ought to be a common prayer

* When Dr Eadie, of Glasgow, removed with a portion of his congregation from Cambridge Street Church to the more stately one near Lansdowne Crescent, in 1863 or 1864, he exhorted his congregation to say "Amen" audibly at the conclusion of each prayer. This was reckoned suspicious, and it was whispered that he had been seen walking with Dr Norman Macleod on the Great Western Road. Dr MacEwan was gravely suspected of "Presbyterian Puseyism," as I heard his accuser term it. Dr Robson, too, was not above suspicion. His senior elder, a worthy man, now deceased, was heard to say that he had seen the Doctor wearing a "gey Bishop-looking hat!" Some time previously Dr Macduff, who had come from St Madoes, and had gathered a very large and influential congregation, had recommended the practice of kneeling during prayer, when some indiscreet admirers of John Knox were loud in their wrath! On all such frivolous observances this wholesome rule may be laid down, that whenever a man rushes into quarrels with his neighbour for some little deviation from his own practice, he has good cause to question the reality or the healthiness of his own Christianity. How few of those who invoke John Knox remember that he was the author of a liturgy, and that the last prayer in which he engaged was one from "Calvin's Daily Offices!" How few remember, or ever knew, that the redoubtable Jenny Geddes, who hurled her stool at the head of Dean Hannay, in St Giles's Church, is believed to have been an Episcopalian! (See Dr Robert Lee's "Reform of the Church of Scotland," p. 82.) "Fact is fact," says Dr A. K. H. Boyd, "and you may be thankful if you can lead human beings to do what in itself is right by the use of even somewhat inferior means. I would not have it in the power of even the most regardless to plead as an excuse for absence from church that really the whole service when he last was there was so rude, so uninteresting, that there was no inducement to go back again. And utterly disbelieving (as I utterly disbelieve) the power of scolding to draw over people to God's house, I strongly hold that it is right, and that it is a Christian duty, to make the church, and everything about it, such that all kinds of people may be attracted to it with somewhat of the Psalmist's feeling in their heart: 'How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!' And if they come, drawn by mixed motives somewhat short of the highest and best of all, still they may be lifted up by praise, and led into hearty joining in prayer that interprets their deepest wants and wishes, and expresses them; and if the preacher has them within hearing of his voice, it will be his own fault if he do not constrain them to attend to it; and he may hope, by God's grace, to impress and profit, to startle and convert, to edify and comfort. Wherefore we say, by all fair means attract human beings to God's house, and interest them while there."—(See Discourse preached at the opening of Anderston Church, Glasgow.)

—that is, one in which all the people can join, whether audibly or not. A short service, not compulsory but only permissive in its use, comprised mostly of extracts from the Old and New Testament, would be the least objectionable and most impressive; and even those who approve of only Psalms being sung or chanted in public worship could not consistently take exception to prayers couched in scriptural language. I have no wish to revive the discussions in the Established General Assembly in the case of Dr Robert Lee and Old Greyfriars' congregation. I have carefully perused Dr Lee's "Reform of the Church of Scotland,"* which was finished just before his illness came on. While it is an acute and interesting work, I do not believe that his prayer book, which I have heard used both by him and by Dr Wallace, his successor, will ever become acceptable to the people of Scotland. It lacks the fervour of extemporaneous supplication, and the simplicity, pathos, and majesty of the English Common Prayer Book, which latter has endeared the Episcopal Church, with all its faults, to the people of England, insomuch that the Congregationalists, Baptists, and even the Presbyterians, find they cannot hold their ground without an approach to the liturgy.† The Wesleyans have

* Among persons who take their opinions at second or third hand—a very numerous class—Dr Robert Lee is believed to have had a hankering after Episcopacy, which is so far from the truth, that Episcopacy, especially as exhibited in the form of Scottish Prelacy, was the object of his bitter scorn and reprobation. Although his brother was a minister in the English Church, Dr Lee has, I humbly think, underrated the value of the English Book of Common Prayer. Much interesting information will be found in Mr Story's "Life of Dr Lee," recently published: its value would not have been lessened, if its esteemed author had shown a little more respect for those brethren who conscientiously differed from Dr Lee. I was quite surprised to learn that Dr Lee was so sensitive a man. From his public appearances, I had judged him to be quite the reverse. Another example of the contrast between the seeming man and the real! Dr Wallace's large congregation in Old Greyfriars' Church owes little to the Edinburgh Town Council, which tried to disperse it by refusing to give it the choice of its minister.

† When I have met English Churchmen grumbling about a minister, generally a High Churchman, who had been appointed to their parish, and when I have said, "Why do you not go to a Dissenting chapel?" they have commonly answered, "Oh no! Because the parson does not please me, am I to be driven from my Church and lose my service? Parson will be a cleverer fellow than I take him for, sir, if he drive me away. It was my Church before he came, and it will be mine after he leaves; however, I often attend chapel of an evening, and hear a stunning preacher." Truly did Mr Bright declare, some ten years ago, that the English Church might stand for very many years, if its only attacks came from without. I beg to direct

already introduced a form of prayer in their more educated congregations; and in Lady Huntingdon's chapels there has always been one. Instead, however, of troubling the reader with my own crude thoughts, I shall favour him with two apposite quotations.

The first is from one of the profoundest Biblical expositors that Scotland has ever known—Dr John Brown. His morning prayer is engraven on the hearts and memories of all who ever heard him: it had all the directness and tenderness of the most affecting petitions in the English Liturgy. His opinion is thus recorded by his accomplished son:—"My father, in theory, held that a mixture of formal, fixed prayer—in fact, a liturgy—along with *extempore* prayer, was the right thing. As you observe, many of his passages in prayer all who were in the habit of hearing him could anticipate, such as 'the enlightening, enlivening, sanctifying, and comforting influences of the Good Spirit,' and many others. One in especial you must remember; it was only used on very solemn occasions, and curiously unfolds his mental peculiarities; it closed his prayer—'And now, unto Thee, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the one Jehovah and one God, we would—as is most meet—with the Church on earth and the Church in Heaven, ascribe all honour and glory, dominion and majesty, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.'"* "A visitor seated in the immense area, or in the galleries of Broughton Place Church, would be first struck with the venerable beauty of the preacher as he entered, the premature baldness and grey hairs only bringing out in relief the finely sculptured head and dark piercing eye.† The devotional look and fervour of tone would soon chase these thoughts away; and even the expressive

special attention to a report of a speech by Dr John Macfarlane, United Presbyterian minister, London. No citizen of Glasgow needs to be told that Dr Macfarlane, formerly of Kincardine-on-Forth, came to Glasgow to a deserted church, which he speedily filled, and bequeathed in a flourishing condition to Dr Drummond, its present pastor. In London Dr Macfarlane has also attracted a large congregation at Peckham, but he finds it melting away through no fault of his own.—(See note Q, Appendix.)

* Letter to John Cairns, D.D., p. 117.

† Dr Morison has observed, in the June number of the "Evangelical Repository" for 1861, that Dr Brown obtained his high position in the Church partly on account of the charm of his personal appearance. His countenance was singularly hand-

reading of the psalm and chapter would be forgotten in the new light which it cast on the subject. The prayer would be remarked, almost stereotyped from week to week, but singularly full of the leading truths of the gospel, presented in a form peculiar even to quaintness, yet redeemed from all semblance of eccentricity by the profound seriousness and glow of the delivery." Among the stereotyped prayers offered up every Sunday as regularly as any Collect in the Anglican Church, even the visitors will recall the following:—"Bless those who by bodily or relative distress, or any other necessary cause, are prevented from being with their brethren in the sanctuary. Be with them in their

some and impressive. No portrait does him justice. His handwriting, the delight of compositors, resembled the beautiful characters of the old monkish chronicles. I can recollect that the Church of Scotland farmers of Clydesdale and Tweeddale who came to attend the Edinburgh fairs, and who had known him in Biggar, made a point of hearing him preach in Broughton Place Church, for they were proud of him. On the Sunday morning they would sally forth from their Inns in the Grassmarket and Candlemaker Row in quest of "Dr Broon, o' Brochton." His youngest son is the accomplished Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh University, and his youngest daughter is the wife of the Rev. John Wilson, successor of Dr Charteris, in the parish of New Abbey. Dr Brown is remembered in Edinburgh with profound veneration The members of his congregation contracted a habit, which he strongly reprobated, of rather depreciating ordinary ministers, whom they reckoned not above their own level. I have expressed my opinion candidly of Dr Brown's theory on the civil magistrate's authority, for he, more than most divines, inculcated the duty of calling no man master. Among his peculiarities was one which I have not seen mentioned—I mean his warm interest in the welfare of the sons and daughters of ministers; his memory was most retentive respecting their fortunes in life. After an absence of twenty-five years from Edinburgh, I miss his venerable form moving quietly along our streets, to visit a sick member of his flock, or to attend a book-sale, where he would meet his old Selkirk fellow-student, Principal Lee, and chat pleasantly on the commentators. About the year 1838 I heard a pert student say, "Doctor, don't you think the Dissenters ought to found a university of their own?" "I fear," answered the doctor, "that is *in nubibus*." His worthy father, the Rev. John Brown, of Whitburn, forbade him to attend the prelections of Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, from a suspicion that he was an unsafe teacher—a suspicion very common in Stewart's time, for he was long suspected as an infidel; yet Mr Mackintosh, clothier, North Bridge, Edinburgh, an elder in the United Presbyterian Church, has a distinct recollection of Mr Stewart's attendance at Bo'ness Parish Church, when he resided at Kinneill House. His "man" was Robert Forbes, father of Peggy Forbes, whom Lord Palmerston, once a boarder of Dugald Stewart's, was taken by John Brown, M.D., to see during his last visit to Edinburgh in 1863. Dr Robert Rannie, the minister of Bo'ness, used to say that he required to bestow extraordinary care in the composition of his discourses when the Professor resided at Kinneill.

retirements; bless them, and do them good. Give to them that mourn in Zion the oil of joy for mourning; and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Hasten the time when the Church of God, strong as well as beautiful in her union, shall look forth on a world destined soon to be her inheritance; fair as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners." In times of war, he used the prayer, "Scatter Thou the people that delight in war."

My next authority is a noble man, a profound scholar, a vigorous thinker, a luminous writer, an illustrious pedagogue, and a sincere Christian, whose teaching and example have been so serviceable in moulding the creed and conduct of so many educated Englishmen. None of my readers need to be told that Dr Arnold was remarkably free from prejudice. For many years he was regarded with jealousy and distrust by most churchmen; the Anglo-Catholics held him in abhorrence; the Evangelicals suspected and maligned him; his defence of Dr Hampden in the "Edinburgh Review" nearly cost him his Head-Mastership of Rugby School, worth more than £2000 a-year; his work of Church Reform* estranged and alarmed his most attached friends. Such was the inveterate hostility harboured against him personally, that malignant journalists circulated sinister rumours about his administration of the School, and the real character of the man was never fully understood until his pupils had proclaimed it at Oxford, and a memoir by Dean Stanley had revealed it to the world. Dr Arnold was no blind admirer of the Church of England. "Historically," he writes to his rather High Church friend, Mr Justice Coleridge, "the Church of England is surely

* The "Church Reform," published in 1833, ran through four editions in six months. Dean Stanley observes—"Men of the most opposite opinions quoted this pamphlet—the few with approbation, the many with condemnation. Every party conceived that its own special views were attacked and decried. Dissenters bristled up because some of its arrows were launched against what the author believed to be their sectarian narrowness; the clergy of the Establishment inveighed against its supposed latitudinarianism; Conservatives threw down the gauntlet on behalf of their dearly-cherished abuses, and shrieked out their deprecation of the meditated reforms; while the majority of the Liberals also withheld their voice and support, because the importance of religious institutions was, to their minds, too strenuously advocated. So that he bade fair to become, what several years after he still feared he should be, an absolute political Ishmaelite."

of a motley complexion, with much of good about it and much of evil — no more a fit subject for enthusiastic admiration than for violent obloquy. . . . . That common metaphor about our 'Mother, the Church,' is unscriptural and mischievous." If Dr Arnold ever displayed any intolerance, it was towards the doctrines preached by some of his old Oxford fellow-students:— "Newmanites put Christ's Church and Christ's ministers in the place of Christ Himself." He ridiculed "a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology, the superstition of a priesthood without its power, the form of Episcopal government without its substance." He strongly deprecated the "pestilent distinction between clergy and laity, which is so closely linked with the priestcraft system." The due recognition of the laity he regarded as the "thin end of the wedge, by which Anti-Christ might hereafter be burst asunder, like the dragon of Bel's temple."

In 1831 Dr Arnold visited Scotland, and in the July of that year he writes from Greenock:—"I was at church twice on Sunday, once at the Presbyterian Church, and once at the Episcopal Chapel. My impressions, received five years ago, were again renewed and strengthened as to the merits of the Presbyterian Church and our own. The singing is to me delightful,—I do not mean the music, but the heartiness with which all the congregation join in it. And I exceedingly like the local and particular prayers and addresses which the freedom of their services allows the minister to use. On the other hand, the people should be protected from the tediousness or dulness of their minister; and that is admirably effected by a Liturgy, and especially by such a Liturgy as ours.* As to the repetitions in our Service, they arise chiefly

* When Dr Arnold became Head Master of Rugby, there was a paid chaplain. At his death, the Doctor applied for and obtained the office, but took no salary. His Rugby sermons are justly esteemed. Of his mode of performing the service, which his deep, clear, and ringing voice rendered very impressive, Miss Worboise, in her recent cheap Memoir of Arnold, says:—"And another of his pupils delights to recal the simplicity and dignity of his manner of performing the services of the Church; how the Psalms, the Lessons, and the Gospel and Epistles of the day were read, or rather repeated, with a beauty and force that gave to his hearers fresh ideas of their meaning, and a new appreciation of their import; to remember how he joined, as

from Laud's folly in joining two Services into one; but the repetition of the Lord's Prayer I can hardly think objectionable; not that I would contend for it, but neither would I complain of it. Some freedom in the Service the minister certainly should have; some power of insertion to suit the particular time and place; some power of explaining on the spot whatever is read from the Scriptures, which may require explanation, or at any rate of stating the context. It does seem to me that the reforms required in our Liturgy and Service are so obvious, and so little affect the system itself, that their long omission is doubly blamable."

And he continues again (at Glasgow)—"The Scotch minister's sermon again struck me as addressed more ad clerum than ad populum; and again more than ever I felt the superiority of our service. I cannot say how doubly welcome and impressive I thought the Lord's Prayer when the minister (to my surprise, by the way) used it before the sermon. Nothing, it seems to me, can be worse than the introductory prayers of the Scotch service, to judge from what I have hitherto heard: the intercessory prayer after the sermon is far simpler, and there the discretion given to the minister is often happily used."

it were intuitively, in the musical parts of the service; for he was unmusical by nature. And how his whole countenance would light up at his favourite clause of *Te Deum*, which he loved so dearly: 'Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.'" I do not know a more touching scene within the whole range of English biography than Dean Stanley's account of Dr Arnold's sudden death on that sad Sabbath morning, when he was seized with angina pectoris, his father's mortal disease, and Mrs Arnold knelt at his bedside, reading to her dying husband, who was in sore agony, passages from the Prayers and the Psalms. Mrs Arnold now resides with her son-in-law, Mr W. E. Foster, M.P., near Bradford. In 1846, four years after Dr Arnold's death, I halted at Rugby, to see the school and the town, which is about half-a-mile from the station. Passing a cottage, I asked the goodwife if she remembered Dr Arnold. "Oh, yes, sir," she answered, "he often passed this way, walking by the side of his wife, who was riding on a pony." No man held more firmly, or preached more earnestly, the doctrine of justification by faith than Dr Arnold; yet the "Record," the organ of the Evangelicals in the Church of England, could write thus:—"Did he, even in death, rest intelligently and clearly on that fundamental doctrine [justification by faith] on which Luther declared the gospel turned, and whosoever denieth which is not to be accounted, in the words of Cranmer, for a Christian man? We cannot say. It does not appear." I see that Dr Temple has left Rugby amid the universal regret of the townsmen. It always speaks well for a man when he is liked by his neighbours, who know him well. Twelve hundred old Rugby pupils have also agreed to do him honour, and these Rugbeians ought to know him well too.

Before parting with Dr Arnold,* I may be allowed to make another quotation, which will, I apprehend, express the views of many sensible men. He writes to Dr Hawkins:—"I wish I could sympathise with you in what you say of our old divines.† I quite agree as to their language; it is delightful to my taste; but I cannot find in any of them a really great man. . . . As to interpreters of Scripture, I never yet found one of them above mediocrity. . . . I hold John Bunyan to have been a man of incomparably greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of Christianity. His 'Pilgrim's Progress' seems to be a complete reflection of Scripture, with none of the rubbish of theologians mixed up with it. . . . I cannot trust myself to read the account of Christian going up to the celestial gate, after his passage through the River of Death. I have always been struck with Bunyan's piety; I am struck equally, or even more, by his profound wisdom."

In Scotland religion and education have maintained a close and historical connection. I have incidently alluded to Hugh Miller's "Thoughts on the Education Question; or, the Battle of Scotland," published in 1850. The conflict is still raging, but the battle has not been fought, and the victory is still doubtful. No patriotic Scotsman can be indifferent to the issues

* See Stanley's "Life of Dr Arnold," vol. ii., p. 392. In the "Churchman's Shilling Magazine" for January 1870, the Rev. Mr Cowell, a zealous Episcopal clergyman in the east end of London, admits the desirableness of occasional extempore prayer in churches.

The coincidence between the opinions of Dr Brown and Dr Arnold is noteworthy. Dr Brown's stereotyped prayers were composed and used by him long before Dr Arnold's death in 1842, and Dr Arnold had no knowledge of Dr Brown, the only Scottish minister mentioned in his life and correspondence being, as far as I remember, Dr Chalmers, to whom he refers casually. I should like to know who the Greenock and Glasgow ministers were that he heard preach. He seldom refers to Scotland, and does not seem to have known much of its institutions, which is rather surprising. He alludes with approbation to Sir William Hamilton's attacks on Oxford University corruptions in the "Edinburgh Review." With all his detestation of English Anglo-Catholics, and ecclesiastical bigots, he did not take very kindly to the English Dissenters. To the Rev. J. Tucker he writes—"What is coming none can foresee, but every symptom is alarming; above all, the extraordinary dearth of men professing to act in the fear of God, and not being fanatics. As parties, the Evangelicals, the High Churchmen, and the Dissenters, seem to me almost equally bad; and how many good men can be found who do do not belong to one of them?"

† Dr Chalmers has remarked that nearly all the Puritan divines were educated in the Church of England.

involved. There are few questions on which public opinion has undergone more perceptible fluctuations than that of national education. Such was the general apathy or antagonism in England to the diffusion of sound intelligence among the poorer classes, that John Foster was compelled to write his weighty and thoughtful "Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance" in order to dispel the prevalent fallacy that an educated nation will overthrow the institutions by which it is governed. Some colour was also lent to the fallacy by the fact that labourers who were more enlightened than their fellows were prone to become dissatisfied with their manual occupations, a fact which Dr Whately explained by pointing out that when the whole class was so enlightened, the fancied superiority of the few would disappear, thus removing the cause of their dissatisfaction. This discovery was followed by manifold efforts to remove the national blot. Zealous Churchmen and Dissenters vied with one another in erecting schools and Mechanics' Institutions. That their efforts were well meant is undeniable. That they have not achieved the ends contemplated, their promoters will be the first to admit, because they know best how little can be accomplished by scattered educationists in overtaking masses of ignorant children or adults, especially in populous districts, which have utterly outgrown the means of instruction. Hence courage and effort gave way to languor and inaction. Slowly but irresistibly was awakened the conviction that the State alone could accomplish what had baffled the schemes of Churches and of individuals, and demands for national education became louder and louder. But until very recently the project of compulsory education was harboured only by a few political speculators. The most bigoted churchman, who might in an evil hour have connived at the enforcement of an old statute imposing fines against profane swearing * and absence from the Episcopal Church, would have shrunk from enacting a new statute to compel the attendance of the profane offenders' children at the National School. Dissenters, again, arrived at the same conclusion by a different process. Com-

* About three years ago, Mr Robertson Gladstone, of Liverpool, an advanced Radical, and an elder brother of the Premier, dragged a cabman whom he heard swearing and brawling on the street before the magistrates, who fined him in five shillings.

pulsion had acquired an ominous significance in the Voluntary controversy; it stank in Voluntary nostrils; everything savouring of compulsion, except for legal offences, was denounced with abhorrence; the value of preventive remedies was undervalued and derided. To men who deemed an Established Church repugnant to Scripture and reason, it was equally apparent that the nurture of the child was the duty of the parent—a right so sacred and exclusive that any interference by the magistrate representing the State must be a monstrous invasion of parental privilege. Such was the theory and practice of many, if not most, English Dissenters, who were actuated by conscientious scruples, commonly expressed in the following syllogism :—"Education, if really sound and efficient, ought to be of the highest kind, that is, it must be religious; but the State cannot legitimately interfere in religious instruction; therefore we can lend no countenance to State Schools."*

* I have no wish to overstate my case, but I am quite cognisant of the facts. I refer to the Dissenters' agitation of 1847. At that period I was living in England, chiefly among Baptists and Independents, and read the "Nonconformist," edited then, as now, by Mr Edward Miall, M.P., who was formerly an Independent minister in Leicester. The Baptists and Independents, who were often jealous of one another on the subject of Baptism, united heart and hand in opposing State education. They had interviews with the then Marquis of Lansdowne, and they enlisted the aid of the late Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, M.P., the "Finsbury Pet," who was conspicuous in the House of Commons, not only by his handsome countenance and advocacy of Chartism, but by his defence of theatres kept open after midnight on Saturdays, when the Bishop of London complained of them. Mr Duncombe, a nephew of Lord Feversham, was a thorough aristocrat in his tastes and pursuits, and was highly amused at the accession of his new allies. I recollect Lord John Russell, the defender of the Education Bill, and the best friend the Dissenters ever had in Parliament, rallying him on being the organ of the "Independent Dissenters." Lord John well knew Mr Duncombe's position as a dandy demagogue; and I can never forget how I once heard him raise the loud laughter of the House. Mr Duncombe, who was not reckoned very sincere in his championship of measures then thought very extreme, had been badgering him on his finality in his Reform Bill of 1832, when his Lordship significantly remarked on "the tone of agreeable levity with which the honourable member for Finsbury so often entertained the House." Mr Duncombe, who was characterised as a "brave and incorruptible patriot"—a phrase very common in his time—received a visit from the Scottish Dissenting deputation sent to London to oppose the endowment of the Extension Chapels. The Rev. H. M. Macgill, in his Life of his father-in-law, Dr Heugh, has recorded what the doctor wrote :—"1838, March 3d.—Met ——; clever; racy; very sound on the principle [!], but quite ignorant of the facts. His admission that he was a man of no weight: 'I may speak of religion, but they know me.'"—(P. 442). In reviewing the work, more than twenty-four years ago, the "Scotsman" added—"We are afraid this scapegrace was Mr Thomas Slingsby Duncombe."

Accordingly, they held aloof from such schools, not merely objecting to the Privy Council grants as subsidising all denominations, but to State schools altogether, as transgressing the bounds of the civil magistrate's province. Meanwhile, the Establishment was multiplying its schools; the Wesleyans followed rapidly in its wake; the Congregationalists were passive, unless we except their partial support of the British schools, in which the Socinians* sometimes took the lead in the management. At length the mind of England was thoroughly aroused, and even Mr Edward Miall, M.P., and Mr Edward Baines, M.P., have been compelled, in deference to public opinion, if not from a conviction of the unsoundness of their former sentiments, to yield to the demand for a national system of education. While I impute no blame to them for their change, it seems not presumptuous to suggest that their former theory, to which they clung for a long period, would be none the worse for some further consideration.

Far different has been the aspect of the Education question in Scotland. If our country has ever harboured a statesman, politician, ecclesiastic, or public functionary of any sort who was jealous of sound national education, he must have nourished his jealousy in secret; he dared not have revealed it to the outer world; he would have been scouted as a disgrace to his native land. Accordingly there has been, since the Reformation, entire unanimity among all classes on the value of the boon, the rich being more or less willing to provide the necessary funds, and the poor being not only willing that their children should be well taught, but even stinting themselves of food and raiment that the children might attend school

* I mean no offence in applying the term Socinian to persons who prefer to be styled Unitarians—a word which has also a philosophical acceptation. "Socinians," says Dr P. Davidson, "more generally call themselves *Unitarians;* but this name is neither distinctive nor appropriate. It is not distinctive; for, as meant to imply that they believe in the Unity of God, it belongs to Jews and Mohammedans, to Sabellians and Swedenborgians, as well as to them. Nay, deists, on the one hand, and all classes of orthodox Christians, on the other, have as good right to it as Socinians. They all hold the unity of the Godhead as the first principle of their belief. Nor is the appellation appropriate to the Socinians, any more than distinctive; it does not describe them accurately, any more than distinguish them from others. Besides denying the divinity of Christ, and the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit, they deny also what is commonly esteemed peculiar and precious in the Christian system."—(See "Opinions concerning Christ.")

with regularity. Artisans in towns, peasants in the country, and even widows burdened with large families, rose early, and toiled both hard and late, to secure for their sons and daughters the acquisition of the knowledge which is profitable for both worlds. Nobody who has not mingled largely with the industrious poorer classes in Scotland can fully estimate the sacrifices which they were wont to make in the performance of this sacred duty,—sacrifices which were meekly and bravely borne. Rather than allow a quarter's school fee to be unpaid or overdue, they would have gone without food for a whole day. A man of this honourable class, which has contributed so large a share in taming the ruggedness of Scottish soil, and in perfecting Scottish manufactures, would, in taking his child to school, and consigning him to that little world where he was to learn so much for weal or woe, unburden his mind to the pedagogue briefly as follows :—"I am a poor man, and, if spared, I shall soon be old and weak. I can afford to give my children nothing but education to enable them to make their way in the world, where they must toil as I have done. If you find them in any fault, punish them as you think fit; I leave them in your hands." For the most part the schoolmaster was worthy of his trust. Frequently he also was the son of honest and frugal parents; he had attended a University for at least two sessions, and had kept company with the future ministers of the Church of Scotland. Sometimes he had enjoyed a longer term of University training, or had even received license to preach. But though a preacher, he had devoted his talents to the more humble, but not less useful vocation of parish schoolmaster, where it was his pride to educate his pupils to the best of his ability, and to render them ever grateful to their faithful instructor.*

* It has become an ignorant fashion to sneer at clerical schoolmasters, and to laud the comparatively illiterate lads trained and certificated in Normal Schools, who have not attended a University. Many years ago I read a pamphlet by Principal Lee, in which he observed that parish ministers would treat with more courtesy schoolmasters who might become their co-presbyters. In Aberdeenshire, and the neighbouring counties, the schoolmasters are mostly preachers or theological students, and their schools are the best taught in Scotland. In England the teachers of the common schools are rarely University men, and they secure far less

If the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has ever proved herself false to her principles and traditions, she has been in the main the trusty guardian of common school education. In 1560, the very year in which Parliament sanctioned the Reformation, the reformed clergy proposed the establishment of schools throughout the country. Not long after, the principle was again affirmed in the Second Book of Discipline, and an Act of the Privy Council, issued in 1616 and ratified by Parliament in 1632, ordered the setting down of a school in every parish. Whatever may have been the defections of the successors of the Reformed divines, the instruction communicated in the parish schools seems to have given universal satisfaction. Neither the Erskines, nor Gillespie, nor the Burghers, nor the Anti-Burghers, nor the Episcopalians, nor the Haldanites, nor the Congregationalists, nor the Evangelical Unionists, censured the character of that instruction. Objections might be sometimes taken to the schoolmasters being required to be churchmen, to their election being in the hands only of heritors of a certain annual value, or to lax superintendence arising from the Presbytery's unwillingness to bear too hard upon aged or inefficient incumbents, which unwillingness was, in some instances, prejudicial to the rising youth of the parish.* Never-

respect than a College-bred man in Scotland. The last Royal Commission on Education ought to have examined some distinguished teachers, such as those in the Edinburgh High School and in the Academy.

* I was brought up near a village with a subscription school, the masters of which were frequently changed, because the good ones were promoted, and the bad ones were dismissed. Two miles to the west was a parish schoolmaster, a licentiate of the Church, then in his dotage, who sometimes went to sleep in school. Two miles to the east was another parish schoolmaster, old, and given to liquor, whom I have seen lying asleep by a ditch-side. I must add that, luckily for me, he was succeeded by a man of extraordinary attainments, who, besides being an accomplished classical scholar, spoke French and Italian fluently, knew German tolerably, was a fine penman, a good accountant and mathematician, and a good English reader and speaker. His income never exceeded £80 a-year. He was a nervously modest man. Dr Cook, of Haddington, and Professor Crawford, his successor in the small parish of Cults, Fifeshire, will remember him, for the school was within the bounds of their Presbytery. He belonged to a class of learned pedagogues now unhappily extinct. He led a lonely bachelor life, his books, bees, and fishing-rod being his chief delights. He had also received a medical education. With all this mass of learning he taught the alphabet skilfully and valiantly! One of his predecessors, a man of far inferior attainments, but of a more ambitious turn, who

theless, no fault was found with the constituent elements of the school system, when imparted by a skilful and conscientious schoolmaster. In those days, so far were the Seceders and other Dissenters from objecting to religious instruction forming an essential part of the daily teaching, that they would have been the foremost in censuring any diminution of the quantity or quality of religious training, either in the Holy Scriptures or in the Shorter Catechism, with its "proofs,"* or in the committing to memory of Psalms and Paraphrases. I have known Burghers and Anti-Burghers who had hardly ever been seen in a parish church, but who never dreamt of removing their families from the parish school, so that when what were called side or subscription schools were built, they were conducted precisely on the same model as those of older foundation, to which they bore the same relations as extension chapels to the parish church.† Accordingly, such was the conviction of the wholesome operation of the system in general, that Scotchmen of all creeds who won fame and fortune at home or abroad ascribed their success to their elementary education in the parish school, backed by the religious lessons and moral example of decent parents.

was a licentiate, emigrated to Canada, joined the Episcopal Church, and died not long ago Bishop of Toronto, taking precedence of all the Canadian Bishops—the only instance, so far as I know, of a Scottish parish schoolmaster becoming a Bishop. In England, most of the Bishops have been schoolmasters or tutors in colleges at some period. Dr Thirlwall, Bishop of St David's, was a barrister; Dr Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon, was a surgeon, but he must have had a vocation for the pulpit, for he was a capital preacher when I heard him officiate as afternoon lecturer at the Foundling Hospital, London, and I know him to be a laborious Bishop, preaching occasionally in the open air, which is, I presume, unconsecrated.

* I have always thought that the Shorter Catechism, except the Ten Commandments, ought to be taught and explained, not in common schools, but in Bible classes connected with Churches which accept it as an exposition of their creed. I believe that Mr Spurgeon employs it as a text-book for the students in his Pastors' College. The Catechism of the Church of England begins with asking "What is your name?" The first question of the Westminster Catechism is far more important—"What is the chief end of man?"

† During the last century the Anti-Burghers viewed with alarm every relaxation of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics. In 1778 they protested against the English Catholics being allowed to open schools for the instruction of youth; and in the same year they joined the Burghers in deploring a Catholic Relief Bill for Scotland, introduced by the Lord Advocate. Principal Robertson, the leader of the Established General Assembly, defended the Bill.

This state of matters continued till 1843, when the Disruption in the Church was followed by a disruption in the schools. About seventy-seven parish schoolmasters adhered to the Free Church, and resigned their situations. The Free Church leaders determined not only to make provision for the older schoolmasters, but to erect schools in as many parishes as possible,* and about six hundred Free Church schools are now in operation. I deem it unnecessary to enquire whether the Establishment ought to have deprived the poor schoolmasters of their means of living, or whether the Free Church was justified in setting up so many schools. I look at the past chiefly as a beacon for the future. If the incomes of the parish schoolmasters were inadequate to their position, as they confessedly were, before the Disruption, what was to be expected when large draughts were made upon their scholars by the Free Church schools, which schools the Free Church ministers and office-bearers strained every nerve to fill? The inevitable result followed; both the old and the new schoolmasters were inadequately paid, some of them even on the verge of starvation.

In 1847 the Privy Council grants were offered on conditions which were reasonable: Sir James Kay Shuttleworth was then Secretary of the Privy Council Committee, and the Marquis of Lansdowne was President; the office of Vice-President was not

* In 1846, Dr Candlish, who was then Convener of the Free Church Education Committee, must have been very sanguine as to the prospects of his educational schemes. In that year he had a serious dispute with Hugh Miller, who warned the Free Church of the Convener's extravagant visions. I extract the following from the "Witness," April 2nd, 1850:—"Towards the close of this hopeful and happy year, when the iron king ruled over the railways, and every falling shower seemed tinged with gold, Dr Candlish rose in the November Commission of the Church to state, in an elaborate report, that it was 'calculated not fewer than a thousand congregational schools would be speedily demanded,' with not a few missionary schools besides, strictly adapted to the 'destitute districts of towns, and the crowded manufacturing and mineral parts of the country;' and that to both these classes of seminaries—missionary and congregational—model schools, grammar schools, and normal schools were to be added. In short, a gay and gorgeous vision of school upon school, temple upon temple, college upon college, and, atop of all, the Knox Monument, estimated to cost only £16,000 sterling, filled the entire land, from the cumbered foreground to the distant horizon, and from the distant horizon to the middle sky."

yet created; neither Mr Lowe* nor Mr Ralph Robert Wheeler

* In the "Men of the Time" there is a short and flattering account of Mr Robert Lowe, the new Minister of Finance; but I present the reader with a fuller and more truthful account of his career. He is the son of the Rev. Robert Lowe, Established clergyman of Bingham, Notts, and was born in 1811. He is said to have completed his preliminary education at Christ's Hospital and Winchester; he entered University College, Oxford, where he graduated with high honours; but I have ascertained, on trustworthy authority, that he was also an inmate of Christ's Hospital, commonly called the Blue-coat School—a fact which he appeared to forget when he was wont to taunt schoolmasters and others with being the recipients of public charity. Having obtained a fellowship in Magdalen College, he resided in Oxford for some time as a private tutor, but contrived to render himself highly unpopular. Having been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, he went out to Sydney in 1842 with letters of introduction to Sir George Gipps, who appointed him his nominee in the Legislative Council of New South Wales. He very soon quarrelled with his patron, resigned his seat, and wrote very severe articles in a newspaper against Sir George, who was one of the ablest and most honest governors that ever ruled in Australia. Mr Lowe was then brought forward by the Radical party to contest Sydney against Mr W. C. Wentworth and Dr Bland, and was returned with Mr Wentworth. He at once launched into philippics against the Government, and shortly after broke with his own party on the squatting question, and attacked three of its prominent members very fiercely—Mr S. A. Donaldson, Mr W. C. Wentworth, and Mr J. P. Robinson, who were largely interested in the squatters. The Rev. Dr John Dunmore Lang was a member of the Council, but he never came to open rupture with Mr Lowe, who was a principal contributor to the "Atlas," in which he wrote very stinging articles. Although Mr Lowe was a member of the Church of England, he was much disliked by that body, and Bishop Broughton found him the most troublesome man in his diocese. He practised at the Sydney bar, but never took a high position as a pleader, always ranking below Windeyer, Foster, Manning, Plunket, Darvall, and Broadhurst. In consequence of an altercation, Mr Broadhurst challenged him to a duel, which he wisely declined. He married before going to Sydney. His frugal habits, which he has still retained, enabled him to return to England with a competency. On his arrival in England, in 1851, he is understood to have procured an engagement on the "Times," and to have written the fierce attacks on the colonial policy of Earl Grey. He entered Parliament as member for Kidderminster, and subsequently for Calne; and after filling various subordinate offices, he became, in 1859, Vice-President of the Privy Council Committee of Education. This post he held for some time; but in consequence of a vote of censure by the House for garbling the reports of the School Inspectors, which were unfavourable to his policy, he tendered his resignation, which Lord Palmerston, who disliked and distrusted him, gladly accepted. During Earl Russell's tenure of office, Mr Lowe was conspicuous by his merciless attacks on Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright, and by his opposition to Earl Russell's moderate Reform Bill of 1866. Mr Bright retaliated, describing him as a "Botany Bay" man, as a Scottish terrier whose head could not be known from his tail, and advising the working men of England to hang up in their workshops his slanders on their character—"drunken, venal, improvident." On Mr Gladstone's accession to the Premiership, Mr Lowe chose and obtained the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lingen* had issued their insolent and iniquitous communications to clergymen, school committees, and schoolmasters. But the policy of the Privy Committee was framed originally to provide mere elementary instruction for the neglected lower classes in England, where to this day there never has been a parish-school system. So great is the difference between the two countries in this respect, that when Mr Bruce, the Home Secretary, who succeeded Mr Lowe as Vice-President of the Privy Council Committee, came down to Scotland in 1869 to be elected as Member for Renfrewshire, he declared that educationally Scotland was two hundred years ahead of England, and that in legislating widely different systems must be adopted. But money was wanted. The Free Church took the lead in accepting the Privy Council grants; the Established Church followed; but although an improvement has taken place in

His high talents all must admit, but they are too often neutralised by his wayward temper, and strong tendency to paradox. When he was lashing Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright so unsparingly, a gentleman who knew him in Sydney said to me that he would probably ere long attack Mr Disraeli with equal ferocity. His prophecy was verified in less than two years! Since he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he has made himself notorious by his insolent reception of Scottish deputations requesting grants of money for education or other useful purposes.

* Mr Lingen has been recently promoted from the Privy Council of Education Office to the permanent Under-Secretaryship of the Treasury, with £2,000 a-year. In concert with Mr Lowe, he framed the celebrated New Code, which gave so much dissatisfaction. The Code was in some respects an improvement as regards England, but what schoolmasters and school-managers complained of justly was the cruel and deliberate breach of faith of which they were the victims, and which was reprobated by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, the former Secretary. Mr Lingen is again under his former chief, Mr. Lowe. His successor is Sir F. Sandford, who will not, it is hoped, imitate the example of Mr Lingen, whose mystification in official correspondence was exposed in his examination by the Marquis of Salisbury, then Lord Cranborne, in 1866, before a Committee of the House of Commons. The following extract merits careful perusal, as describing the working of a London Education Board:—"It has been already stated that the Privy Council grants in aid of education originated in 1839, when a committee of the Privy Council was formed under the presidency of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The members of the committee included the President, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others. In 1856, a Vice-President was appointed to represent the committee in the House of Commons. In 1850, Mr Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen took his place as perpetual Secretary, or, as he styles himself, 'Chief Executive Officer'—a title amply merited by his summary execution on countless ill-fated victims. By permission of the House of Lords, several Peers who had been Presidents of the Council were examined. Perhaps the most prominent witness was Mr Lingen. He had been fourteen years in the 'Privy Council Office of Education, Whitehall,' and had transacted business with all the

school accommodation, the general character of the instruction has been greatly impaired; the parish schoolmasters are now men of inferior learning to their predecessors of fifty years ago. The Privy Council system labours under two fatal disadvantages, which are exerting a most injurious influence on the youth of Scotland: it allows grants only to those districts which least need pecuniary aid; and by insisting on mere mechanical results in the rudimentary branches, it discourages, and wellnigh extirpates, the cultivation of the higher. Latin, Greek, and Mathematics are disappearing from our schools, both because the schoolmasters cannot impart them, and because the Privy Council rules frown upon them. Nay, more, it was clearly proved last year by the Committee of the Glasgow University Senate, which watched the Government Education Bill, that well-qualified schoolmasters had now ceased to explain the meaning of English lessons, because they could pocket larger Privy Council grants by dispensing with such explanations altogether. This single fact discredits the whole system as applied to Scotland. We are falling from our high educational estate. Neither the President nor the Vice-President of the Privy Council has ever been a Scotsman.

As few persons professing an interest in Scottish national education possess an adequate knowledge of its educational

Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The most important information touching this 'Chief Executive Officer's' mode of conducting correspondence was elicited by Lord Cranborne in a series of raking interrogations. Naturally enough, Mr Lingen's memory failed him in matters of minute detail, but he was compelled to admit one most damaging fact, which can be explained in one sentence. All communications from managers of schools and others must be directed to the Secretary. How did he answer them? After consulting his superiors, 'My Lords?' Nothing of the sort. He used the name of 'My Lords' to convey his own decisions. But the managers would remonstrate, and beg 'My Lords' to reconsider their adverse decisions. With what result? Were 'My Lords' then consulted? By no means. Mr Lingen again snubbed the managers, assuring them that 'My Lords' had resolved to adhere to their decision, although 'My Lords' had never heard of the correspondence! Your space will not allow me to dwell on his cancelling passages from the inspectors' reports when they did not tally with his plans."—(See "Edinburgh Daily Review," and "Courant," formerly quoted). I have no hesitation in avowing myself as the writer of the letter, for which I received the thanks of several of the most influential Scottish members of Parliament. My information was obtained from a Parliamentary Blue-Book. It is rumoured that Mr Lingen had recently lost favour at the Privy Council Office, but it can be guessed why he has received promotion from Mr Lowe.

machinery, I subjoin an extract from the Report for 1869 of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland:—

"The number of parochial schools returned as examined was 1017, and of non-parochial schools 1414, making a total of 2431. There were on roll of parochial schools on day of examination 94,988, and there were present 70,914; on roll of non-parochial schools on day of examination 129,665, and there were present 107,975. In order to ascertain the number of schools directly under the management or supervision of the Church, it is necessary both to deduct from and add to the above numbers. There had to be deducted those schools which, though admitting Presbyterial examination, are not under the management and control of congregations or of subscribers connected with the Church of Scotland. These numbered, as nearly as can be estimated, 259, which, subtracted from the total number of schools examined, reduces it to 2172. To this number again has to be added the following Church of Scotland schools not returned, viz.:—Existing in the six defaulting Presbyteries, or returned as not examined—Parochial, 94; Assembly, 50; Society, 55; Sessional and others (estimate), 50—249. Making a total of 2421. The total number of schools in the country is about 5000; and as 900 of these are adventure and 850 undenominational, only about 833 schools are left as the fruit of the activity of all the other denominations put together. In the parochial schools, about 4 per cent. study Latin, about ½ per cent. Greek, and about 2 per cent. French and Mathematics. Sixty-eight pupils are returned as learning German. In the non-parochial schools, the proportions learning the higher branches—even those called "Modern"—are considerably smaller. The parochial schools, accordingly, still continue to take the lead, not only in the primary education of the country, but also in what may be called the lower secondary. The proportion ought to be at least two-sevenths. Nearly one-fourth receive industrial instruction of this kind in the non-parochial schools. The teaching of music from notation continues to make steady progress. An annually-increasing number of schools are being brought under Government inspection. The number was 1969 in 1867, as compared with 2130 in 1868. Of separate institutions receiving

annual grants, there were inspected in Scotland during the year ended 31st August, 1868, the following:— Church of Scotland, 1143; Free Church, 514; Episcopal, 86; Roman Catholic, 56. The number of parochial schools examined was 1017, and, as already shown, the number of scholars present was 70,914. The number of other schools examined was:—Burgh schools, 26; Assembly schools, 169; subscription schools, 238; Sessional schools, 131; Christian Knowledge Society schools, 131; endowed schools, 226; public works, 109; denominational schools (Dissenting), 49; adventure schools, 184; and other schools, 151; and the total attendance at all these schools on the examination day was 107,975."*

From a cursory glance at this large educational machinery with Parochial Schools, Burgh Schools, Congregational Schools, District Schools, and other schools of which no account is taken by Presbyteries and Government Inspectors, it should seem that ample provision has been already made for the wants of the people of Scotland. If the schools were properly distributed, and if advantage were taken of them by the classes for whom they have been planted, this expectation would be partially realised. Stubborn and unwelcome facts, however, stare us in the face. In the discussion on the Scottish Education Bill, during the last Parliamentary session, it was affirmed that 90,000 children were growing up in Scotland without common school instruction, and that ignorance was increasing day by day. Allowing for some exaggeration of the number, what a gloomy spectacle is presented! What must be the intellectual and moral condition of the parents or protectors of these uneducated children? Their neglect of education is not explained by their poverty, for they will spend a quarter's school fee over a debauch in a single night. Within the memory of men still living, a Scottish father, conniving at his child's growing up without receiving a plain education suitable to his means and status in life, was regarded as an unnatural parent. No Scotsman was ever more alive than Professor Pillans to the

* See "Edinburgh Courant," Dec. 13th, 1869. Currie's "Common School Education" is the best work of the kind I have read. It is philosophical and practical, and infinitely superior to Morrison's "Manual of School Management," which is shallow and flippant, not to say vulgar.

importance of this social blessing, and few entertained more enlightened notions touching the most efficient methods of extending it among those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. "The conflicting theories on national education had provoked so much discussion that, in 1834, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was nominated to collect evidence and report. The committee was very large and influential. The chair was appropriately filled by Lord John Russell, who has been so long identified with the British and Foreign School Society, and has been the unwearied and consistent friend of the education of the people. . . The labours of this committee would not have been complete without the evidence of Pillans. He had written largely on education; he had inspected the system established in Prussia, France, Switzerland, and Ireland; he was among the foremost educationists of the age. Accordingly, he underwent two protracted and searching examinations, in which he communicated the valuable results of his mature judgment and varied experience. It was once affirmed, on a subsequent occasion, by the Premier, Sir R. Peel, that in the House of Commons as much discretion is required to put questions as to answer them. The questions put by the Educational Committee were singularly comprehensive and intelligent, indicating ample knowledge of the question, and allowing ample scope to the views of the witness. One answer, long afterwards familiar to philanthropists, and adduced by Mr Frederick Hill, in his work on Education, as so creditable to the Scottish character, we extract to the question, 'Is it the uniform practice to send their children to school?' Pillans's answer was—'Almost universal, wherever they can. I think the exceptions to the habit are very rare indeed, and can only exist in Scotland among the most depraved part of the population. In the country districts, I should say there is no such thing. A man would be looked upon as a monster who could keep his children from means of instruction within his reach."*

* See "Memoir of the late Professor Pillans," pp. 42, 43. (Maclachlan & Stewart). I need not disguise the fact that I am the author of the Memoir, which is a tribute to the memory of one who toiled to the end of his protracted life in promoting education of every kind. The little work has been commended much beyond its merits by the "Scotsman," "Edinburgh Courant," "Dundee Advertiser," "Dumfries Courier," and other journals; also by the "United Presbyterian Magazine."

Humbling to our national pride as the confession may be, this trophy of civilisation can be no longer displayed. Scotland stands no longer where she did. In spite of cheap or gratuitous schools, cheap school books far excelling the repulsive manuals conned by our fathers, cheap mechanics' institutions, and popular lectures delivered by learned and philanthropic gentlemen at a nominal price, the ugly fact cannot be ignored that large masses of children are growing up at our very doors without the very elements of knowledge. Surely this is very sad and very deplorable. Without presuming to predict, or even to hint, that the majority will become criminals, thieves, beggars, or pests of society in any shape, to employ our police, to crowd our criminal courts, or to fill our poor-houses, I am justified in saying that they are foul blots on our Christian civilisation. These young urchins, numerous and daring enough to form a large and compact caste, are legitimate objects of pity, not unmingled with terror. If the schoolmaster is abroad, as Henry Lord Brougham told us after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, he has failed to enlist these young recruits, who are more likely to fall into the clutch of the policeman, and by him to be consigned to the tender mercies of the turnkey. It is not surprising, therefore, that even in Scotland thoughtful men of all religious creeds, and of all political parties, have begun to ponder the question of compulsory education. Such a question offends national prejudices, dispels fond illusions, and awakes uneasy forebodings regarding the future. Accustomed as we have been to regard Britain as the most free and enlightened nation in the world, and Scotland as not the least free and enlightened part of it, we are staggered to find that we have been outstripped in this respect by a new Western Republic, which, amid the frightful calamity of a civil war, was sedulously founding colleges, and by European nations which we had long reproached with contempt as keeping their subjects in the bonds of ignorance or of superstition.*

* I state this on the authority of the late Mr Ernest Jones, whom I heard debate with Professor Blackie on Democracy. Politicians frequently draw so false conclusions from the analogy of America, that I am tempted to quote from a letter, dated May 23rd, 1857, of Lord Macaulay to Mr. H. S. Randall, of New York: — "As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your

If elementary education is not to be left to the discretion of the parents, and if the State is to interfere to render it compulsory, it becomes a matter of primary importance to determine what sort of education ought to be imparted. Before attempting to decide whether it should be merely secular, if, indeed, that be possible, it is expedient to repeat that,

labouring population will be far more at ease than the labouring population of the Old World; and, while that is the case, the Jeffersonian policy may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and your Birminghams; and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the labourer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators, who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting; but it matters little, for here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous, indeed, but select —of an educated class—of a class which is and knows itself to be deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly but gently restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again; work is plentiful, wages rise, and all is tranquillity and cheerfulness. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I cannot help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your Government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority, for with you the majority is the Government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, not one of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working man who hears his children crying for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman empire was in the 5th; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

while Dissent was feeble, the nation was quite unanimous respecting the constituent elements of common school education, and that the Old Seceders would have been the first to denounce and oppose the removal of the religious element.* It seems also needful to observe that, while this unanimity continued, almost all children were sent to school, and received a moderately good secular and religious training, which enabled them to pursue a lawful occupation, and to discharge their social duties. I am strongly disposed to think that, but for ecclesiastical dissensions, this unanimity and cordiality would have continued; and I deem it hard that, because ecclesiastics, and laymen prompted by ecclesiastics, have chosen to worry one another and the Scottish people

* Since the above was written, I see that the Committee on Union has issued a deliverance, that the "United Presbyterian Church has always been the strenuous advocate of having religion taught in all common schools." If by "common schools" is meant schools receiving parochial or Government aid, I take leave to dispute the accuracy of the assertion. As a rule, the United Presyterians, fettered by their Voluntaryism, have contended for combined secular instruction with separate religious teaching, and, perhaps, an additional fee. Some United Presbyterians, of great ability and influence, have declared against State aid to education altogether. Dr Robson, of Glasgow, son of the worthy Anti-Burgher minister of Cupar-Fife, is a leading member of the Union Committee. Has he forgotten that he once took part in a meeting, held in the Merchants' Hall, to oppose State grants, or interference of any sort, in the matter of education? Mr Crum Ewing, M.P., was chairman. Dr Edmond, Dr J. B. Johnstone, and Dr Ker, all men above the common mark, were speakers. I was present, and I remember the tone of the speeches. At a meeting of the Free Church Commission of Assembly, held November 17th, 1869, a most acrimonious debate took place respecting a report of the deputation sent to London by the Free Assembly to watch over the Scottish Education Bill. The deputation consisted of Professor Douglas (Dr Buchanan's Friday) and Mr William Kidston, the latter of whom disagreed with his colleague and the deputies from the United Presbyterian Church respecting religious instruction. The scene in the Commission was most unseemly, Sir Henry Moncreiff, the Moderator, characterising the assertions of Mr Kidston as "false and calumnious," amid great and prolonged uproar, not at all in keeping with the deliberations of a Church Court, or of an assembly of gentlemen. It is somewhat curious that it was Dr Robert Buchanan who, in the General Assembly, anticipated so much benefit from Mr Kidston's services in London! (See note Q, Appendix.) Mr Kidston, determined to verify what he had affirmed respecting the interview with the late Lord Advocate and the Duke of Argyll, wrote to Mr Hannay, solicitor, Glasgow, who was present; and Mr Hannay confirmed Mr Kidston's testimony. (See "North British Daily Mail," December 7th, 1869.) Sir Henry Moncreiff seems to have lost his temper completely, as he usually does when he is contradicted. It is well known that, if the Education Bill had passed, he was to have been appointed a Commissioner, with £750 a-year, although his name has never been associated with education, either primary or superior, in Scotland. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*

generally with disputes about clerical elections, and financial experiments, and other extravagant schemes, which, by their own confession, do not involve any doctrine of Holy Scripture, a sound and generally acceptable system of national education should be undermined and shivered into fragments. Children went willingly to school. Surely that might please the Voluntaries. They were too young to elect, or pay, or control ministers or their own schoolmasters. Ought not both Voluntaries and Free Churchmen to have waited till they reached the age of maturity? As to any premature inculcation of spiritual independence, might it not have tempted them to declare their own independence of their schoolmaster, parents, and school authorities into the bargain? But I must not conclude my strictures on this head without seeking to ascertain what is meant by the secular education sought to be substituted for that system which has been in vogue since the Reformation. While it is true that some advocates of the secular system are avowed or disguised disbelievers in Holy Scripture, and consistently discredit its value as a rule of faith and conduct, it is equally undeniable that the majority are as firm believers in its supreme authority over the consciences of mankind as those who oppose any change. Nay, more: some of them appear to have imbibed such a lofty ideal of its sacredness as to be scared by the thought of its being taught by a lay schoolmaster, and of its being associated with less sacred subjects on a week-day. Such persons are so few, and usually so impracticable, that they cannot reasonably complain if their scruples, though respected, cannot influence the preponderating majority of their fellow-countrymen. I proceed to examine the position taken up by the great mass of what are reckoned advocates of compulsory secular education.*

If all parents had discharged their duty, not only in sending their children to the school, but in attending to that domestic training which fits them to become citizens of a Christian commonwealth, the question would never have been started in Scotland. The misfortune, however, is, that there

* How Dr John Inglis, Dr George Cook, and Dr Chalmers would have been amused with the notion of compulsory Voluntaries or Voluntary compulsories! I have no desire to taunt them unnecessarily with inconsistency, but I defy any advocate of the extreme Voluntary theory of 1832 to justify compulsory education in any shape. Ought not professed Voluntaries to reconsider their whole theory?

is springing up an increasing class of unnatural, hardened parents, whose offspring threatens to sink into a lower depth of physical, intellectual, and moral debasement. These parents live in utter neglect of their household duties: they are beyond the pale of any Christian Church; they repel the economic and evangelistic counsels of city missionaries, Bible women, and other philanthropists; they are the plague-spots of our boasted civilisation, spreading a noisome pestilence in all directions. Nevertheless, such is the hereditary antipathy of Scotsmen to compulsory education, that Lord Neaves, an elegant scholar, an acute jurist, a Justiciary Judge, and a sincere friend of the poorer orders, said lately, "His views on education were probably antiquated now-a-days; but he still adhered to them, and found in them reasons, though not the sole reason, for supporting the present institution. For instance, he was not an advocate for compulsory education. Many were. He should like very well that people were compelled to educate and be educated, but he was not yet a proselyte to that. He saw difficulties in compelling men to educate their children, difficulties in compelling boys to go to school, and various other things. Our ancestors tried compulsion. The means of compelling parents to educate their children resorted to long ago was to excommunicate them if they did not do so. What effect that would have at the present day he was not able to say, at least among those who belonged to the Protestant part of the community. He also saw great difficulty in either imprisoning the parents that would not educate their children, or in poinding their furniture. He should not like to see scenes of that kind going on. Then he did not see his way to imprisoning a boy who played truant from school. Moreover, in some schools it was of great importance to have the power of expelling boys that became a disgrace to the establishment, and he had not yet been fully able to reconcile the advantages of expulsion with compulsion. The next thing he had to say was, that he was in favour of religious education. He did not think any man was educated who was not religiously educated. He was of opinion, that without cultivating all the better parts of the human mind and soul, the being was not educated. He would distrust any boy that had had nothing but what

was called a secular education. If there was a boy that had never heard of the Ten Commandments but as a controversial question, that did not know of a God or a future state, or a Saviour, or anything of that kind, however well he might be up in the 'three R's,' as they were called, he should decline to employ that boy, or give him the slightest opportunity of intromitting with his silver spoons. How religion was to be conveyed was a totally different thing, and that was the question which he thought should alone be considered in the matter. In the next place, he was no favourer of the opinions entertained by Roman Catholics. On the contrary, he considered himself to be a loyal and most sincere member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, adopting all its doctrines, and acquiescing fully in its discipline."*

But the "antiquated views" which educated Scotsmen would once have shared have been partly exploded by the dismal calendar of police offices, gaols, penitentiaries, and reformatory institutions. Mr Dunlop's Act, which is admitted to work beneficially, entrusts to magistrates the power of sending to a reformatory school children of tender age convicted of theft. Prevention, says the adage, is better than cure; it is also much cheaper. About twenty years ago, a Solicitor-General for Scotland stated, at a public meeting in favour of Dr Guthrie's Ragged Schools, that the average cost of a criminal exported to New South Wales was about £200! Hence the demand for compulsory secular education has acquired additional intensity. It has been made by many well-meaning persons, who possess only a superficial acquaintance with the subject either theoretically or practically. I presume that there are very few Scotsmen who would banish religion of every kind from our common schools. A purely secular system of education, in the proper sense of that much misunderstood and misapplied term, is wellnigh impracticable.†

* These words were spoken by Lord Neaves in December, 1869, at the annual meeting of the United Industrial School. As an evidence that the question of compulsion is difficult, I may cite Dr Hanna and Mr M'Laren, M.P., as exponents of the other view. Bailie Fyfe, as an old Voluntary, was rather opposed to compulsory education, but yielded to the wishes of the Town Council. The Lord Advocate subsequently pointed out to a deputation of that body the practical difficulties involved in such a law, and suggested several ways of removing them.

† This was admitted by Councillor Durham, in the Edinburgh Town Council, in his ingenious illustration of the impossibility of separating secular education from

Unless the moral feelings, that is, the conscience, of the pupil, be awakened and exercised, the main ends of education are sacrificed, and the very dexterity acquired in what are called the "three R's," may serve merely to render them more clever adepts in sin leading to crime of which the law takes cognisance.* Thus far nearly all are agreed. The next stage drags us into a controversy, which I would rather waive, but which is unavoidable. If Scotland were Greece, and Edinburgh ancient Athens, a rude code of social ethics might be compiled from the Greek philosophers, presenting as much diversity, however, on many speculative and practical topics as perplexes many denouncers of Christian creeds. Those philosophers who denied the reality of all moral distinctions, and who had escaped from the dreary tyranny of Fate, might be ranked under the schools of Theism, Pantheism, or Polytheism. The nature of virtue, and the best methods of attaining it, would be found entangling them in endless disputations, which, though pursued with a subtlety unrivalled in modern times, shed but a feeble light to brighten the great mystery of the grave.† Hence arose

religious, in moral training. "In fact, to draw a line of separation was utterly impossible, so far as his observations went. Looking at the rainbow, one saw gorgeous colours combined to form a magnificent arch. These colours were so blended, and glided so much into one another, that it was impossible for any one to say where one ended and another began. At the same time, they were so fully developed that no one had any difficulty in saying what colours really were presented to the eye. So in our moral nature. We spoke of a man as courageous. Carry that out to its extreme, and it became foolhardy; but no one had any difficulty in saying—'There is a courageous man; there is a foolhardy man.' So it was with generosity and prodigality. Applying the analogy to the question of education—secular, moral, and religious—he could not find where the one ended and the other began."—(See "Scotsman," December 15th, 1869.)

* Let no one imagine that I prefer ignorance to a merely secular education, but I prefer an education better than either, if it can be obtained. The secularists have always had the advantage of being mere objectors. About twenty years ago a secular school was founded in Edinburgh by Mr George Combe and his friends. From that school the Bible was excluded, but phrenology was taught. Is phrenology not the creed of a sect, and are there not sects among the phrenologists? Was there never a schism in the Edinburgh Phrenological Society? The secular school was soon closed. Before the teacher, Mr Williams, was chosen, he had to send from London a cast of his head!

† Has it never occurred to the advocates of scientific and artistic instruction that it has never humanized pagan nations addicted to cruel vices? I lately talked with a disciple of Holyoake, Southwell, and Bradlaugh, who said that his behaviour would not be a whit worse if there were no God and no policemen. He had

their passionate craving for a divine revelation. That revelation we possess in the Holy Scriptures, which some persons, deeming themselves advanced educationists, would proscribe in schools —a proscription intelligible and natural, when decreed by Irish Popish priests, who arrogate for fallible Councils, and more fallible Popes, the right of interpretation; or by infidels, who, on the principle that extremes meet, and that too far East is West, often join these Popish priests in scouting the Holy Scriptures as a pernicious book in the education of the young. But that intelligent Protestants should lend any countenance to such allies seems alike deplorable and unintelligible. That they should object to Catechisms and Confessions, can cause little surprise and less regret, since these are human compositions, drawn up by fallible men, subject to like passions with themselves.* But, by their own professions, the Holy Scriptures are the unerring standard of faith and practice. But is not the infallible book differently explained by fallible interpreters? Granted. Perhaps the objectors have not reflected that the same objection may be urged against every other criterion of moral sentiment. Now, in the Scottish parochial schools the Holy Scriptures have been regularly read and explained. They have never been made compulsory on any children whose parents objected. Has a Roman Catholic parent ever complained of any attempt to proselytize on the part of the schoolmaster? Has the schoolmaster been proved to have been encouraged to play such a mean part by any Presbyterian minister?† To tell the plain truth, he could not afford to proselytize, for a speedy detection must have been

been bred a Presbyterian, but had been led astray by those who destroy, but never build up. Like many other secularists, he was well versed in the literature of his sect. He was anxious to lend me Renan's Life of Christ, which I had previously purchased, but he declined my offer to lend him De Pressensé's noble reply, of which he had never heard.

* Acting on the wholesome maxim, that half a loaf is better than no bread, I advise the advocates of Scripture education in common schools not to persist in the retention of the Shorter Catechism. Dr Guthrie has recently told us that he could in five hours compose a better manual. When he has issued it we shall see. By adhering closely to the words of Scripture, he will be most likely to attain success.

† See Macaulay's review of Southey's "Colloquies on Society," Hampden's "Fathers of Greek Philosophy," Maurice's "Ancient Ethical Philosophy," and Mackintosh's "History of Ethical Philosophy."

followed by the withdrawal of the pupils, and the loss of the school fees. If I were at liberty to disclose what I know, I could give the names of respectable Roman Catholics who, in defiance of the wishes or threats of Irish priests, have sent their children to Protestant schools,* who declined to avail themselves of permission to withdraw them from the Bible class, and who attended on the examination day, to hear their catechism, along with the Protestant scholars, in the Acts of the Apostles and the journey of Saint Paul. I could also give the name of one of the most notorious unbelievers in Scotland, who expressed his desire that his children should read the Scriptures. The copies which he supplied to them were the handsomest in school; and candour requires me to add, that his children were well conducted members of the class. If it be replied that the Bible classes have not been always efficiently or judiciously taught in the parochial schools, I freely make the admission; but I ask, in return, if the preaching has been uniformly sound and acceptable in the parish church, or in the Dissenting churches in the same parish? That minorities have their rights, is unquestionable, though it admits of question whether the minorities now clamouring so loudly in the matter of education would pay so much respect to their rights if they were to attain a dominant majority. I shall cite the words of a parliamentary legislator, who will not be suspected of any bias towards parish churches, or vested interests of any description, but whose opinion is always based on a careful study of details:—"I have heard a great deal about the tyranny of a majority in connection with these matters; but there is also such a thing as the tyranny of a minority. If, in a parish with one hundred heads of families who send children to school, ninety would prefer that their children should receive religious instruction, and were willing to pay for it, and ten were of a different opinion, I should say, that if the ten should so act as to prevent the ninety from carrying out their wishes in the way I have described, the

* When Dr Arnold, of Rugby, was an Examiner for Degrees in the University of London, he offered to examine publicly on the New Testament candidates belonging to the various denominations, except Jews and Mahometans, without giving offence. But Jewish and secular influence was paramount, and he withdrew from the examinations.

tyranny would be just as great, and more indefensible, than if the ninety were so to act as to do what was contrary to the conscientious convictions of the ten who formed the minority."*

That my suspicions are entertained even by United Presbyterians who have devoted special attention to municipal legislation, and the reformation of juvenile criminals, is amply attested by the following passage, which is sound and patriotic, and contains, moreover, valuable hints regarding parliamentary legislation of Scottish affairs. Bailie Lewis "was glad that Bailie Fyfe had agreed to introduce a clause providing for compulsory education. Without such a provision the bill would do no good. From returns he had obtained, he found that at twenty-eight schools in Liverpool only 11,160 children attended, while there was accommodation for other 5699. Then in Manchester there were 30,000 vacancies in the schools; showing that unless there was a compulsory clause in the bill the children would grow up in ignorance and crime. In our own city, at the present time, an agitation was going on with the view of getting from the Corporation one of the public halls to gather in the city Arabs, who were ignorant as well as destitute of food; and the bill would never reach those sunken masses unless it were made imperative on every man to educate his children. Having shown, by reference to the police statistics, that ignorance was the parent of vice and crime, Bailie Lewis went on to speak to the clauses of Bailie Fyfe's motion. With respect to the general board, he held that it ought to be elected by public bodies—bodies elected by popular representation. He would oppose any proposal for the nomination of the board by the Government or by Parliament, because of the 600 members 540 were Englishmen and Irishmen, and knew nothing of the education required in Scotland. He also objected to the appointment of a Government Board, because it would lead to further official extravagance. It might be said, that if they had Government grants, they must have Government control. He did not think that it necessarily followed. Government grants should not be looked upon as if they were something

* Mr M'Laren's speech to his constituents in the Music Hall. See "Scotsman," December 14th, 1869.

altogether separate from the community, as if the money Government gave was not taken from the pockets of the people. But he would rather have the schools supported entirely by direct assessment than that they should be under legislative control. He had also a suggestion to make with regard to clause seven of Bailie Fyfe's motion. He would propose that it should read to the effect, that while the Bible shall be retained in the schools of Scotland, its reading shall be left to be regulated by the Local School Committee, it being understood that a conscience clause shall be embodied in the bill, and also a compulsory clause. He had no sympathy with the idea that the Bible should be expelled by statute from the schools. The Bible was not necessarily a sectarian book; it was not necessarily denominational. He would like to be tolerant of others, as he would like others to be tolerant of him; but he could not forget that he had been born and reared in a Protestant country, and that it was his duty to stand by and support Protestantism. If the Roman Catholics had such a repugnance to the Bible that they objected to be brought into contact with it, he would give them a conscience clause, and he would neither compel them to pay for the religious education nor to attend it. This crusade against the Bible was to him perfectly unintelligible. As a book of history, as a book of political economy, as a book of social science, as a book of sterling morality, no book that had ever been published could stand comparison with it for a moment. If they drove the Bible from the schools of Scotland, that act would be the precursor of a dark future for the country.* He denied that the clergy or the missionary agency were sufficient for the teaching of religion. There were 50,000 or 60,000 people in Edinburgh who never crossed the church door, and it was only in

* When I visited Ireland in 1864, I ascertained, from personal inspection, that the excellent National Schools founded by Earl Grey's Government in 1835 had become denominational. In one large building I found three distinct schools—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. A Presbyterian minister, who showed me over all, when we entered the Presbyterian school, remarked that he was quite independent there. By way of proving it, he put a question to the scholars somewhat disparaging to the Pope, and they simultaneously shouted an answer which pleased him. I said nothing, but did not like the proceeding. I conversed with Roman Catholic laymen who had been well trained in the National Schools when they were first instituted, and who resented the interference of their

the schools that the children of this class could be taught. Then, were they prepared to abandon the Decalogue? If they did so, where was the standard to which they could appeal in dealing with juvenile delinquents?" *

But it is contended that the schoolmaster might be safely

Bishops in perverting them to sectarian purposes. As soon as the priestly influence became predominant in the Dublin National Board of Education, the school-books were changed, and Dr Whately retired,—thus proving that Bailie Lewis's suspicions are justified by painful experience. The same insidious influence was employed, with less success, to sectarianize the Queen's Colleges, founded by the late Sir Robert Peel; and, as the "Scotsman" repeatedly showed, Mr Gladstone was not without blame in the negotiation.

* As I have long believed that the Education question in Scotland will never be settled by Church Courts, I attended the two meetings of the Edinburgh Town Council in December, 1869, when the question was fully canvassed, and the decision to which they came may in some respects fairly represent that of the great majority of the people of Scotland. Although I cannot admit that the discussion was characterised by the ability which was so manifest when Mr Adam Black, Mr M'Laren, M.P., Sheriff Glassford Bell, Sheriff Logan, Mr Robert Johnston, W.S., and Mr R. W. Jamieson, W.S., were members, two or three Councillors gave evidence of superior power in their speeches. One thing surprised me: a member of the last Established School Assembly made a lame defence of purely secular education, while a United Presbyterian put in the ablest plea for Scriptural instruction—I mean Bailie Lewis. Will the Bailie, who is a thoroughly practical man, used to grappling with difficulties, social and economical, turn his attention to the desirableness of obtaining a truly National Church? If this be obtained, the vexed question of the Annuity-Tax will be easily settled. I subjoin the seven resolutions adopted by the Edinburgh Town Conncil:—"1. The formation of a general Board of Education in Scotland, which should be elected by public bodies, elected by popular representation, or by the local committees grouped for that purpose, and whose meetings should be held in public. 2. That all the existing parochial schools, and other schools receiving Government aid, should, as soon as possible, be converted into national schools, and that all national schools should be supported by grants from Government and local rates. 3. Wherever a parochial school is converted into a national school, the funds hitherto payable by the heritors for the support of the school should be ascertained, and applied towards the reduction of the school rate. 4. In every parish the heritors and ratepayers should elect a local School Committee, who should fix the branches of education to be taught, and, subject to an appeal to the General Board, to regulate the management of the schools. 5. That the School Committee in burghs be elected by the Town Councils, either from among their own number, to the extent of one-half, or otherwise; and in all burghs numbering 50,000 inhabitants or upwards, the School Committee should not be under thirteen in number. 6. That no sum be paid either from public funds or local rates to any school not conducted as a national school. 7. That, while the Bible shall be retained in the schools of Scotland, its reading shall be left to be regulated by the local school committees, it being understood that a consience clause be embodied in the bill." There was added an eighth proviso for "a compulsory clause."

released from the teaching of the Bible if the ministers of the various Presbyterian Churches would give more attention to the religious superintendence of the young. If there were fewer Scottish Presbyterian denominations, and if other useful changes be adopted, this suggestion might be turned to good account; but those very ministers who are most conscientious and punctual in this part of their functions, are most surely convinced of the necessity of daily elementary scriptural education communicated by the ordinary schoolmaster. "I knew," says Touchstone, "when seven justices could not take up a quarrel, but when the parties were met themselves, one of them thought but of an *If*, as, 'If you said so, then I said so;' and they shook hands, and swore brothers. Your *If* is the only peacemaker; much virtue in *If*."* If the successors of the Culdees had not fallen away from the pure, primitive doctrines and lives which hallowed the island of Iona, no Protestant Reformation would have been needed to purify the ancient Scottish Church from the superstitions imposed by the Roman pontiffs. If the Stuarts had not entered into an unholy league with the champions of servitude to trample on the rights of their native land; if the Nonconformists had not been blinded by the specious overtures of the bigoted and licentious James the Second, then Duke of York, to make common cause with him in assailing the Church of England, William of Orange need never have been invited to set foot on English soil, to rescue Church and State from that ignoble thraldom which had sought to subject a free country to the Papal yoke, and which had begun by persecuting Locke and publicly burning the writings of Milton. If the Presbyterian Church had not proved unfaithful to the traditions and example of her founders and martyrs, secessions might never have rent her borders, or estranged the affections of her loyal sons. Ultramontane Romanism is simply a returned convict, an old foe with a mask on its face, which must be exposed to the world. Let all true Protestants, then, and all true friends of free thought and free speech, beware of yielding to any hollow compromise between Popery and secularism for rendering the English Bible merely permissive in elementary national schools. Whether the Jesuits have been guilty of the crimes against freedom which have been imputed to their order, inso-

* "As You Like It," Act v., scene 4.

much that they have been banished from nearly every realm in Europe, they have displayed consummate skill in developing the skill and intellect, and in controlling the passions of the young; the Jesuit schools are examples of order, patience, perseverance, and docility. But John Knox, whose prescient wisdom in legislation was equal to his intrepidity as a religious reformer, sketched out for Scotland an enlightened system of education, which can enable her to cope with the disciples of Loyola and Francis Xavier. Let Scotsmen, then, beware of betraying their solemn trust.*

* While this chapter on Education was passing through the press, I perused very carefully Mr Bright's Birmingham speech, of January 11th, 1870. On many grounds I greatly admire Mr Bright: his intellect, earnestness, eloquence, unselfishness, unswerving advocacy of a consistent policy, and the entire avoidance of mystification command my unfeigned respect. During the last election Sir William Stirling Maxwell, whose absence from Parliament every educated Scotsman must deplore, humorously declared that the only living statesman who had no cause to be ashamed of his inconsistency was John Bright! From Mr Bright's speech I am confirmed in the opinions which I formerly held: 1. One-third of the population of England belongs to no religious denomination. 2. Of the remaining two-thirds, the Dissenters, who compose one-half, "are not, and probably cannot be, united for educational purposes." 3. The Episcopal Church receives nearly all the Government monies devoted to education. 4. Mr Bright desires that "every child in every school shall learn the fear of God, the love of virtue, the love of God, and the fear of offending Him, and that every teacher shall be qualified to teach them in his school." From this I am surely entitled to infer that the religious lessons are to be taken from the Holy Scriptures. Mr Bright, though so long a teacher of his countrymen, has professed his readiness to become their scholar. Will he allow me to put a few questions to him? 1. He seems to hint that religious education may be left to the parents on Sunday? On his own showing, one-third of the English parents attach little or no value to religion in any form. Of the other and more reputable portion, how many are disposed and competent to engage in that duty? 2. Mr Bright fears that no Education Bill can be passed this Session, and appears fully as desirous of obtaining the Ballot. Is not education of far more immediate urgency than the Ballot, seeing that England is educationally and morally in so alarming a state? 3. A Scottish Education bill has been represented as impracticable till an English one has been passed. Will Mr Bright do his utmost to pass the Scottish bill next session? 4. As Mr Bright took a prominent part in re-adjusting the Irish Church revenues, not in accordance with his own theory, but to satisfy the apparent wishes of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, will he adopt the same rule in aiding the Church of Scotland to discharge its functions in promoting the religion and education of the Scottish people? In connexion with Scottish education, it seems not unfitting to refer to the many abortive bills of Mr Moncreiff, now Lord Justice-Clerk. Since his elevation to the bench he has more than once complained in public of their rough treatment in Parliament. His complaint is groundless in a great measure. His Education Bills were badly drawn, like many of his other bills. He began well, but appeared to be guided by no fixed policy, and

As so much space has been devoted to the necessity of sound common education, which is of paramount importance in a Christian country, I cannot dwell at length on the desirableness of instituting and endowing superior provincial academies, similar to the gymnasiums of Germany. Here John Knox comes to our aid. His penetrating eye perceived the advantages of such academies in a country where the right

was latterly ready to sacrifice the interests of the Scottish schoolmasters to an extent which would never have been attempted with the lowest Government officials. Mr Moncreiff had been Lord Advocate for the almost unprecedentedly long period of fourteen years, during which he had a seat in the House of Commons, without effecting any very extensive or useful legislation, while most of his official duties were discharged by his Solicitor-Generals or by his Advocates-Depute. His official reign will be remembered by his bestowal of posts on the clan Moncreiff and their dependents. An office was created for his brother, Mr William Moncreiff, who was made Accountant in the Court of Session, with £700 a-year. The Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, Bart., his elder brother, was appointed Secretary to the Bible Board, a sinecure worth £600 a-year. His youngest brother, the Rev. George Moncreiff, an Episcopal clergyman, was appointed an Inspector of Schools. Mr Moncreiff's son, Mr Henry J. Moncreiff, who had been called to the bar only eighteen months, was named Advocate-Depute, with £500 a-year, to the prejudice of many Liberal Advocates of at least ten years' standing; he was next made Counsel for the Board of Ordnance, the Accountant of Bankruptcy, the Admiralty, and other offices of State. Mr Benjamin Bell, a brother-in-law of Mr Moncreiff, and Sheriff-Substitute at Kilmarnock, was promoted to the Sheriffship of Banff and Moray. Mr William H. Bell, a cousin of Mr Benjamin, was created Assistant Clerk of Court and Circuit Clerk of Justiciary. Having provided for the Moncreiffs and Bells, Mr Moncreiff provided Mr William Moncreiff with two clerks, said to be family dependents. It is possible that these eight officials were pre-eminently fitted for their posts; but how strange and lucky that they were all connected with Mr Moncreiff. Was such nepotism ever surpassed in the time of Dundas? Mr Moncreiff's official race had been run in Parliament when Mr Bright and Mr Baxter took office, and when the Scottish members of the House of Commons of 1868 had thrown off his yoke. His retention of the Deanery for ten years had also given offence to the Bar. The thanes fled from him, and the Whig and Radical newspapers hinted that the office of Lord Advocate appeared to exist for him, and not he for the office. On the resignation of Earl Russell's Government, Mr Moncreiff's flatterers were alarmed at the presumed improbability of finding a decent successor. Mr Gordon's reign dispelled that alarm. Without any pretensions to being an elegant rhetorician, he won the respect and confidence of all parties by his method, punctuality, affability, accessibility, and superior legislative and administrative capacity. He has done much for Scotland; and as Mr Young, the present Lord Advocate, can also do much, their mutual co-operation will render valuable service to the State. The only consolation derivable from Mr Moncreiff's jobbery is the assurance that it can hardly recur in our generation. His rejection in Leith and Edinburgh was mainly due to the United Presbyterians, and his University constituents might have followed their example. I have spoken of him as a politician. May his judicial career prove honourable and useful!

of private judgment in religion had been so dearly purchased. The blood of the martyrs had not been poured forth in vain. With regard to the constitution and administration of the Scottish Burgh or Grammar schools there has been little diversity of opinion. In some of the smaller Burghs they are incorporated with the parish schools, but in towns of larger size they are mostly distinct institutions, under the control of the Town Councils. The teaching staff generally consists of two, three, or four masters, who are supposed to be men of higher scholarship than the parish schoolmasters, at least in those branches to which they are restricted in the distribution of the academical work. It might be reasonably conjectured that their rank and emoluments would be proportioned to their grade in the education profession. But unwelcome facts painfully disappoint such expectations. The endowments of the Academies are scanty, and the masters do not enjoy life appointments like the parish schoolmasters, being dependent on the caprice of the Town Councils, fluctuating bodies, not always chosen for their competency to direct superior education.* Public opinion is almost unanimous respecting the propriety of placing the burgh academies on a firmer and more liberal basis. With all their discouragements, parish schoolmasters are rarely willing to accept appointments in Burgh Academies. They know that their incomes will be more precarious, and that they will be at the mercy of men whose notions of professional remuneration and independence are too contracted to make it safe for them to abandon their humble but sure posts.† The Burgh Acade-

* The incomes of the Burgh Academy masters are derived mostly from fees, which are low, otherwise there would be few pupils. But of late years there has been a growing tendency among the middle classes to send their girls to ladies' schools, and the emoluments of the previously underpaid masters have been seriously diminished. In England boys and girls are taught separately, even in the lowest schools. I cannot tell why. In Anglo-Catholic churches of the exaggerated type, the males and females sit on different sides of the passage.

† It is not meant that inefficient and immoral schoolmasters should be irremovable, but they ought to have appointments for life, and offenders ought to be tried before a proper Board. By Mr Moncreiff's bill of 1861, parish schoolmasters can be dismissed by the Sheriff, from whose judgment there is no appeal. Why should a schoolmaster be denied this right? Are Sheriffs infallible in trying schoolmasters? One of the most absurd rules of the Privy Council system of education is that which requires an Inspector of schools to be under twenty-five years of age on entering office. Now, an Inspector ought, for his very office, to be a man of skill and

mies being thus crippled for want of the requisite funds, a deterioration has followed in the quality of the instruction. The result is unavoidable. For while it has been shown by Conybeare and John Stuart Mill that the clerical profession is often chosen and retained by men of independent means, the same cannot be said in reference to schoolmasters. Moreover, few writers or legislators appear to have considered, that although skill and distinction in the teaching profession can never be acquired till after great application and experience, the teachers' energies fail at a much earlier age than those of the other learned professions. Clergymen, lawyers, physicians, accountants, and other men whose occupations demand a liberal education, are often in the zenith of their career at an age when a schoolmaster is superannuated, and has ceased to be an efficient or acceptable public servant. According to the scale of superannuation prevalent in the civil service, officials must enter on their duties before they are twenty-five years of age, and must resign at sixty, when they retire on four-fifths of the income they have been drawing before their retirement.* Who ever heard of teachers experiencing such considerate treatment? Are highly educated and qualified teachers, in whose labours the whole nation is so deeply concerned, not as much entitled to pensions as officials in the Post Office, Inland Revenue, and other departments of the public service, whose employments are little higher than mechanical, and have not demanded an expensive preliminary education? Of the enormous sums of money wasted annually in supporting rival Presbyterian Churches, surely £15,000 might be profitably

experience before he begins his work. Last year I had occasion to write an article on this subject, when my views received the cordial assent of Earl Russell, and of many Scottish Members of Parliament. Earl Russell's judgment on an educational question I should esteem more than that of most statesmen. He contended for national education before it led to place or popularity.

* Is this arrangement defensible? I think not. 1. Because hundreds of men in the public offices might remain at their posts for ten or fifteen years longer, instead of drawing pensions. 2. Candidates for Government appointments prefer them to pushing their way in commerce or otherwise, and are glad to get them. 3. Their incomes are sure, and are steadily increased. Supposing a person with £500 a-year to retire, he draws an annual pension of £400. Is it probable that most of these annuitants would have been as well off in business? Might they not have been penniless? Without prejudicing any of the present civil servants, might not this scale be revised?

expended on the Burgh schools, which would secure the services of superior masters, who would amply earn their rewards by imparting a superior education. Without canvassing the comparative merits of ministers and schoolmasters, it is undeniable that many of the former, whose scholarship is admitted, but whose ministrations fail to please or to attract congregations, would be more profitably engaged in the higher education. Nor would the appropriation of £15,000 injure a single individual, since the desired result can be attained by the repression of prejudice and bigotry,* which no sophistry can justify.

While the Roman Catholic Church is chargeable with the burning of George Wishart and Patrick Hamilton at Saint

* The bigot was well defined some years ago, by Dr Norman Macleod, to be a man who loved his own Church, and hated his neighbour's. Before quitting the subject of Burgh Schools, I may notice a misapprehension respecting the supposed exclusion of religious teaching from their course of study. From the Prospectus of the High School of Edinburgh, which is quite the reverse of sectarian, I perceive that Mr Carmichael, the Senior Classical Master, teaches in his first class the Bible and New Testament Biography; and in his third, Porteous's Evidences of the Christian Religion, and Whately's Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences. Mr Macdonald, too, the other Classical Master, teaches the Bible in his classes, and the Rector gives instruction in the Greek Testament. Mr Ross, the English Master, whose classes were too strongly condemned by the Royal Assistant Commissioners of Education in 1868, imparts religious instruction also. Mr Carmichael has taught large classes in the High School for twenty-two years without finding twelve boys whose parents objected to the Scriptural lessons. Mr Andrew Young is another instance. He has been a teacher for thirty-five years. In Dr Bell's School, Niddry Street, Edinburgh, he taught 600 pupils of the middle class. In the Madras Academy, St Andrews, his pupils amounted to 850 of a much higher social grade. In neither of the two schools did a parent ever object to the teaching of the Bible, and the high moral tone for which Mr Young's teaching was always marked, he ascribes to his Scriptural lessons. Of course Mr Young was in other respects an admirable teacher, respected alike by his pupils and their parents. Nearly thirty years ago, a secular High-Class School was instituted in Glasgow by Mr M'Clelland and other gentlemen, but the experiment proved a costly failure. It is hard to comprehend why men professing to believe in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures object to their being read and explained to children in schools. How few parents engaged in business have the leisure or inclination to teach their families at night! Of the other standards of right and wrong in the human conduct, which one shall we adopt in its stead? Shall it be Hobbes's will of a despot, Clarke's fitness of things, Shaftesbury's reflex sense, Leibnitz's disinterested love, Malebranche's love of eternal order, Edwards' love of eternal being, Butler's conscience, Hutcheson's moral sense, Berkeley's rules for the well-being of mankind, Hume's sceptical utility, Smith's sympathy, Hartley's moral association, Tucker's principle of translation, Paley's expediency, Bentham's utilitarianism, or Thomas Brown's moral sense?

Andrews, and of William Tyndale, the translator of the Bible, at Antwerp, it is refreshing to learn that Sir Thomas More, the Roman Catholic Chancellor of Henry the Eighth, inculcated the education of the people, teaching that the prevention of crime was preferable to the punishment of it, and denouncing the revolting barbarity of the English penal code. It is equally cheering to know that Dominic Soto, the confessor of Charles the Fifth, first condemned the abominable African slave trade, which was afterwards defended by the Protestant Lord Chancellor Eldon mainly because it had not been censured by the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords, who were banded together to frustrate the labours of Wilberforce, Romilly, Clarkson, Stephens, Buxton, and Brougham.* To do the Roman Catholic Church simple justice, she has always evinced commendable zeal in fostering University education, though with the stipulation that it shall be subject to her control. In 1411, the University of St Andrews was founded by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of the diocese, and in 1413, his act was ratified by Pope Benedict the Thirteenth. James the First was then a prisoner in England, but on his return to Scotland after his long captivity, he heartily aided the design of the Bishop, and the students, styled "supposts," were enrolled under the nations of Fife, Angus, Lothian, and Albany. In 1450, the University of Glasgow received its charter from Pope Nicholas the Fifth,† a munificent patron of learning, who

* See "Life of Sir Samuel Romilly," a forgotten but most instructive work.

† In the same year Pope Nicholas granted a charter to the University of Bologna. A fine parallel is drawn between Glasgow and Bologna in Macaulay's inaugural address as Lord Rector to the students of Glasgow. Many persons who never heard him elsewhere have told me it was spoken heavily, and disappointed them. He was then in feeble health, and he always was most animated in his political orations. In that discourse he reminded his young hearers of the prodigious influence exerted by a pure faith and a wise government on the industry and civilisation of countries. "Ignorance and superstition have changed Campania into a land of beggars, and the plain of Enna into a desert." Ten years previously, Dr Arnold, who, like Macaulay, was a zealous Whig, and an ardent admirer of the monuments of Roman grandeur, wrote thus:—"Bologna, July 23rd, 1840.—And now this is the last night, I trust, in which I shall sleep in the Pope's dominions, for it is impossible not to be sick with a government such as this, which discharges no one function decently. The ignorance of the people is prodigious. Nor can it be otherwise." But there has sprung up a class of politicians, misnaming themselves Liberals, who speak as if Popery and Protestantism were much alike. Dr Arnold, with all his liberality, declared them to be "eternally at variance." According to

founded the Vatican library, and displayed such commendable zeal in beautifying Rome. The students of Glasgow are classed under four nations—Glottiana (Lanark), Transfortheana (north of the Firth of Forth), Rothseiana (Bute, Renfrew, and Ayr), and Loudoniana, containing those students not belonging to the other nations. In 1494, King's College, Old Aberdeen, was established by William Elphinstone, the Bishop, and his patron, James the Fourth. A charter was obtained from the faithless and licentious Pope Alexander the Sixth, whose pontificate is the blackest page in Papal history, and whose son, Duke Valentine, was stained by the most atrocious cruelty, and whose daughter, the dissolute Lucretia Borgia,* has covered her sex with infamy. In 1582, James the Sixth, who loved to be designated the modern Solon, and was really a well-read scholar, in spite of his pedantry, granted a charter to the University of Edinburgh. In 1593, the Marischal College, New Aberdeen, was established by George, Earl Marischal, and the College was sanctioned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The Earl retained the appointment of the Professors in himself and his heirs; but on the forfeiture of his family in 1716, the patronage reverted to the Crown. In 1858, an Act of Parliament was passed to unite the Aberdeen Colleges, which now constitute the Aberdeen University. Their union has been attended with the best results. Instead of two Colleges exercising independent jurisdiction within a distance of less than two miles, with the older College challenging the validity of the charter claimed by the younger, and the Professors and students of the one institution generally at variance with the Professors and students of the other, the Aberdeen University is now a most harmonious and efficient seat of learning.† The

the Neo-Liberals and Anglo-Catholics, the Reformation and the Revolution were blunders, if not crimes, and such Whig authorities as Hallam, Mackintosh, and Macaulay, were quite wrong in their vindication of those great movements. I have, moreover, remarked that these apologists for Popery in Britain under the plea of liberality, seldom raise their voice in behalf of poor persecuted Protestants in foreign countries.

* As the Œcumenical Council now sitting in Rome has been convened to affirm not only the infallibility of the present Pope, but of all past Popes, and as Archbishop Manning is well known to be the chief promoter of this dogma, I refer the reader to Note R, Appendix.

† I can never forget a scene between a Professor of King's and a Professor of Marischal College, at a private party in Aberdeen, where the former jocularly

students are ranked under the nations of Mar, Buchan, Moray, and Angus.

Vestiges of the ancient connection between France and Scotland are still perceptible, not only in the architecture and judicial and municipal institutions of Scotland, but also in the system of University education. Our baronial castles are modelled after those of Normandy; our judges wear a costume resembling that of the ancient Parliament of Paris; our Town Councils elect their Bailies and Provosts, not their Aldermen and Mayors; our houses are constructed on the horizontal plan,* instead of the perpendicular, which finds favour throughout England; our Rectors are scholastic, not clerical functionaries; our Professors were formerly designated Regents; our pronunciation of the Greek and Roman languages, which provokes the ridicule of English scholars, is familiar to the ears of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and an Italian.† Even after the Reformation, Scottish scholars were highly esteemed on the Continent, and the philosophy of Reid, which was almost unknown in England, and forgotten or exploded in his native country, was revived by Jouffroy and Royer Collard in France. Our jurists, such as Sir George Mackenzie,‡ of Coull, and Sir Thomas Craig, of Riccarton, studied Roman jurisprudence, compiled from the old civilians and digested in the pandects of Justinian, in the Dutch Universities of Utrecht and Leyden, or in the French Universities of Paris, Toulouse, Valence, and Bourges, the "Athens of

alluded to the supposed flaw in the charter of Marischal College. The Marischal Professor retorted sharply by speaking of the "Pope-founded and Pope-endowed King's College," and the King's Professor quitted the room in high dudgeon. Both Professors are still living, and I hope they are fully reconciled. Might not the ministers of rival Presbyterian Churches take a lesson from the amalgamation of the two Aberdeen Colleges?

* Mr Cheshire, in his "Results of the Census of 1861," ascribes what he deems the independent spirit of Englishmen to their living in self-contained houses, as distinguished from flats. Has this saved them from political bribery, a vice known in Scotland only by name?

† See M. Michel's entertaining "Les Ecossais en France."

‡ Commonly termed the "bloodthirsty Lord Advocate," but in 1682 he founded the noble Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. I have elsewhere condemned the refusal of Mr Robert Lowe, M.P., to grant £2,000 a year to make it more accessible and useful to literary men. The British Museum receives £20,000 annually.

France." Young Scotsmen enrolled themselves as the pupils of Cujacius, the prince of civilians, of Donellus, Govea, Balduinius, Contius, and Hotman. Hence the laws of Scotland were unlike those of England, which are the creatures of statute.* Scottish Professors of Philosophy were then greatly coveted on the Continent. They were poor, intrepid, erudite men, who travelled from one University to another, challenging the most famous Professors in each to hold public disputations in the Latin language, which bore the same relation to European philosophy and theology which the French language now bears to European diplomacy. George Buchanan was one of those travelled Scotsmen. In his youth he was Regent of the College of Saint Barbe, at Paris, and Professor of Latin in the College of Guienne, at Bordeaux. He next became Professor of Latin in the College of Cardinal de la Moine, with Turnebus and Muretus as colleagues. Thence he travelled to Portugal, and became Regent in the College of Coimbra; but having incurred the wrath of the Inquisition, he was imprisoned in a monastery, where he composed his unrivalled Latin translation of the Psalms. Returning to France, he was appointed Regent in the College of Boncourt. On his arrival in Scotland, he was nominated Principal of Saint Leonard's College, Saint Andrews, and in 1567, though only a layman, he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Andrew Melville was a worthy successor of the preceptor of James the Sixth. After leaving the University of Saint Andrews, when he barely attained his majority, he was a Regent in the

* Without presuming to institute a comparison between the supreme Judges of Scotland and of England in their legal capacity, it cannot have escaped the notice of any literary student that the English Bench has produced few men like Sir James Dalrymple, Sir George Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Craig, Lord Monboddo, Lord Kames, Lord Glenlee, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Rutherfurd, Professor Erskine, Professor John Millar, and Professor George Joseph Bell. Generally the English Judges are mere lawyers, very learned and acute, doubtless, but possessing no other accomplishment, except a taste for classics or mathematics, acquired at school or at the University. I perceive from the public prints that proposals have been made to remove the Court of Session to Glasgow or to London. That would never do. Let the Court be improved, if needful, but Edinburgh is the proper seat of the supreme legal tribunals. Even the United Presbyterian Synod has ceased to meet in Glasgow, the stronghold of its Church.

College of Saint Marceau, in Poictiers. Through the influence of Beza, he was chosen Professor of Humanity in the Academy of Geneva. In that little city-state, situated on the lovely margin of Lake Leman, which has so long been the asylum of proscribed liberty, he mingled with Spanish and Italian reformers, from whose lips he heard how the Reformation had been so diabolically quenched by the Inquisition, and how their kinsmen had perished in the fires of Seville, or in the canals of Venice.* On his return to Scotland, he introduced the philosophy of the famous Anti-Aristotelian Peter Ramus into the University of Glasgow, of which, at the request of the Regent Morton, he became Principal. There he reformed and elevated the academical education of Scotland, and his penetrating eye perceived the evils of the corrupt species of Prelacy which had been recently introduced into the Presbyterian Church. After holding for some years the same office in Saint Andrews, he was decoyed to London, where, through the intrigues of Archbishop Bancroft, and the pusillanimity of James the Sixth, he lay a prisoner for four years in the tower. On his release he accepted the invitation of the Duke of Bouillon to become Regent in the College of Sedan, where he ended his noble but chequered life. "The Scottish Presbyterian clergy of the present day," says the Duke of Argyll, "are not remarkable for their extensive learning, still less for extensive knowledge of the world."†

With all their defects, the Scottish Universities have been the just pride and boast of Scotland. Though attached to the National Church by tests of subscription, devised to exclude Episcopalians, but practically excluding Presbyterian Dissenters, and happily abrogated by Lord Aberdeen, the classes were open to the students of every creed, thus presenting an enviable contrast to the haughty isolation of Oxford and Cambridge, which treated Presbyterians and English Dissenters as unclean and dangerous aliens. What has been extorted from these Uni-

* See Dr M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Spain and Italy," "Life of Andrew Melville," and the Duke of Argyll's "Presbytery Examined."

† See "Presbytery Examined," p. 70. During the last century many Scottish Presbyterian students used to spend a session at a Dutch University—a commendable practice, which softened their insular and Scottish prejudices, while it polished their manners, and familiarised them with continental languages.

versities in scanty concessions by Royal Commissions, by popular importunity, and by Parliamentary legislation, the Scottish Universities spontaneously tendered.* As far as I know, no student in a Scottish University has ever complained of a professor wilfully abusing his academical chair to insult or undermine the religious belief of his pupils. Like the parish schoolmasters, he could not afford to indulge in such perversion. And why? Because his income was principally dependent on the class fees. If it is asked whether this is a judicious arrangement, I answer in the negative.

* Not very many years ago I heard Mr Gladstone, in the House of Commons, stoutly oppose any parliamentary inquiry into the revenues of Oxford University, which he then represented; but Lord John Russell, whom I have always greatly admired, carried his point. More recently Mr Gladstone opposed Mr Bouverie's motion for enabling Episcopal clergymen who wished to quit the Church, to enter other professions, and his opposition was successful. As the law now stands, an Episcopal clergyman may become a Roman Catholic, or a Socialist propagandist, but he cannot be called to the bar, or enter Parliament, on account of the indelibility of holy orders. I hope Mr Gladstone has recanted such errors. Last session he voted, and, I think, spoke in favour of the bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister, although he had uniformly opposed it on moral grounds. Being myself a bachelor, the question is very unlikely to affect me practically, but I am at a loss to account for his sudden change. My readers will have rightly inferred that I am a Whig, and that my sympathies are with the Whig party, to which my birth, education, and associations have attached me. When I was a boy, Mr Gladstone was an intolerant and fanatical Tory. When I was a student, his Essay on Church and State was severely censured by Mr Macaulay, in a review which I consider the least sound of all his admirable essays; yet before the last election Mr Gladstone, in his Autobiography, seemed willing to recant his former theory, and to defer to Macaulay's superior judgment. What Mr Gladstone's opinions on any given subject are can only be guessed. His oratorical powers are extraordinary, though his speeches have recently become too diffuse, and have savoured of preachment. Reporters, who love to take down Mr Bright's orations, which are delivered with such self-command, deliberation, and emphasis, tell me that they experience much difficulty in following Mr Gladstone's tortuous, oblique, and sometimes ambi-dexterous periods. Still, they are often fine efforts; but so were Sheridan's, who was no statesman, and so were Canning's, who was only an accomplished trimmer. John, Earl Russell, and John Bright, I must regard as bold, original, and consistent politicians. They began their career with advocating unpopular, definite principles to which the country has been converted. Excepting on some financial questions, in which he imitates Sir Robert Peel, Mr Gladstone has simply followed the current of public opinion: he has been the disciple of progress. I sympathised with Mr John Arthur Roebuck when he was taunted at the last Sheffield election for not adhering closely to Mr Gladstone. Mr Roebuck, when a young man, entered Parliament for Bath as a philosophical Radical. Through good report and bad report he clung to his first professions—never holding or coveting place—and he was quite warranted in not pinning his

Here we again face the question of endowments. Nothing could be more scandalous than the pecuniary condition of our Scottish universities till the passing of the Lord Advocate Inglis' Bill in 1858, which has infused so much life and vigour into the University system, though it has painfully disclosed the poverty which cramps its energy and expansion. Physicians still living recall the time when the chemistry class of Dr Hope, in Edinburgh University, was attended by five hundred students, though the merest novice in the higher branches of education must know that with that monster number competent instruction was quite impracticable.* With the diminution in the number of students

political faith to the skirts of a man eight years his junior, who had distanced him by sudden and not quite explicable bounds. The legislator, who was the most pertinacious in olden times in denouncing the Irish Church, was Mr H. G. Ward, member for Sheffield, who was afterwards Governor of Ceylon. In those days the present Earl Grey and Mr Macaulay firmly supported him, but Mr Gladstone defended its grossest abuses: it was sacred in his eyes. I have expressed my opinion of Mr Gladstone freely and candidly, and I shall be glad if any one can show me to be in the wrong. Does Mr Gladstone still cling to the absurd and ridiculous Apostolical-Succession theory? In his boyhood did he not accompany his father to the Congregational Church of the Rev. Dr Raffles, in Liverpool? At Oxford he imbibed high prelatic and Anglo-Catholic doctrines, and was latterly understood to lean to the Greek Church, but I never heard of his having been seen in a Presbyterian Church till last autumn, when his official residence at Balmoral required him to attend the parish church. He has been always crotchety on ecclesiastical questions, so that Presbyterians, like reporters, cannot always follow him.

* Ladies are now admissible as students in the University of Edinburgh. After they have graduated in medicine, some of them may become candidates for medical professorships; and I do not well see why their claims can be rejected on the score of sex by those who have voted for their admission as students. The question was debated very ably in the Edinburgh University Council, held in October, 1869. Although I did not vote, I confess I was somewhat opposed to the change; and if the applicants become numerous, it may be expedient that they should meet in a separate building. Ladies are also admissible in the University Debating Societies. What a change has taken place in public opinion on this subject since I was a member and a President of the Dialectic Society! I verily believe that a member proposing a motion to that effect would have run some risk of expulsion. What would Mr Millar, Q.C., Sheriff Hallard, Sheriff Campbell, Mr John Carment, S.S.C., and Mr Ebenezer Mill, S.S.C., have said? They were members in my time; for the Dialectic, though founded by four Burgher students, including my father, was subsequently composed mainly of law students. I am sorry to see that the University Societies have now lost the use of the classic little hall where they were wont to meet, and where I have listened to so many well-sustained discussions, especially when one Society challenged another, and the other Societies took part in the fray. Dr Nelson, now Free Church minister, Greenock, then a member of the Diagnostic, was a very keen, argumentative, and fluent debater, a skilful

came the wretched remuneration of the professor. Whilst millions of pounds sterling were annually squandered on monopolists, sinecurists, pluralists, and incompetent functionaries in the Army, Navy, and Civil Service, men of genius, scholarship, and renown, cited by their countrymen as prodigies of literary and scientific celebrity, were literally on the verge of starvation. "Within these two years," says Dr Chalmers, "a great disaster has befallen the office; the Town Council [of Edinburgh] has become insolvent. The salaries of the professors, in as far as they are paid by the City Corporation (and, unfortunately, the whole of mine is so paid) are suspended. By an adverse decision of the Court of Session, all hope of redress is put off for an indefinite period. For the last three terms I have received no half-yearly salary, and my strictly professional income is reduced to £300 annually. The additional £100 from non-professional students ought not to be counted in any general measure for the permanent provision of our university offices; and, at all events, this incidental addition to my emoluments does not save from the *res angusta domi*, in a case where the expenditure in my station, with its various exposures, is such that I have not yet been able to restrain it to £800 a-year.* Truly this is a melancholy passage in

master of logical fence, as many opponents who crossed swords with him knew to their cost. Dr Cairns was very metaphysical; Professor Masson, then a theological student, was earnest and ingenious; Lord Gifford was very judicial, but Dr Nelson was unrivalled in command of facts, in arrangement of argument, and in felicity of diction. I believe he originally belonged to the Cameronian Church.

* See letter to Mr Sinclair in "Hanna's Life of Chalmers," vol. iii. p. 9. Dr Chalmers was a very hospitable man. When he was a minister in Glasgow, his wife, who was a distant relative of my family, used to remonstrate against the number of visitors whom he invited to his house in Kensington Place, Sauchiehall Street. In the "Life of Sir David Brewster," published 1870, it is stated that that eminent philosopher, who was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was so straitened in circumstances that he once actually intended to take holy orders in the English Church, and to accept clerical preferment from his friend Lord Chancellor Brougham. Sir William Hamilton's income as professor of logic never exceeded £450 a-year. No professor worth the name ought to have less than £800. If he is a man of ordinary sensibility, he must grant free tickets to needy lads. Within the last few months I have been told of the great generosity shown by Professor Pillans and Professor Wilson in granting free tickets to poor students. If Pillans thought the entrant would be a good schoolmaster, he at once dispensed with the fee, for education was the pride and passion of his life. Professor Wilson, again, was ambitious to train earnest, eloquent ministers; and the Presby-

Scottish academical and ecclesiastical history. Here was a man, in his fifty-seventh year, combining in his person an exact mathematician, an ethical philosopher, a profound theologian, the prince of Scottish preachers, and a practical philanthropist, receiving an income hardly equal to the salary of a cashier in a commercial counting-house! But other misfortunes were in store. Professors who had taught with vigour and success for a whole generation or longer, and who had been unable to save a penny from their meagre incomes, were compelled to drag out a weary existence in the perfunctory discharge of duties for which age, weakness, and mental exhaustion had utterly unfitted them. Sometimes, indeed, they would retire on condition of receiving an annual pittance from their successors; but more frequently they lingered on the scene, conscious of their growing inability to sustain with decent credit the weight of their professorial responsibility. Mr Inglis's Act has wrought some improvement in this respect, but additional endowments are urgently needed.* Munificent sums are

terian Church does not know what kindness he rendered to the sons of its ministers, for Wilson, though he became nominally an Episcopalian, was at heart Presbyterian, and never waxed more eloquent than when lecturing on the Covenanters; he never took kindly to Scottish Episcopacy. Some time ago I perceived that a Scottish Episcopal bishop claimed Sir William Hamilton as an adherent of his Church. In point of fact he was always a Presbyterian. Before the Disruption he attended Dr Candlish's church occasionally with his wife, who was a connection of Dr Welsh, and I believe that he died a member of St Mary's Established Church, under the ministry of Dr Grant.

* When Mr Moncreiff, as a candidate for the representation of Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, made a speech in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, in the autumn of 1868, I heard him say that, before Mr Inglis brought forward his bill, he (Mr M.) had a similar bill in preparation. Very possibly; but could he have carried it? He proposed many Education Bills; but they were so bad that I almost dare to believe I could sketch a better one myself. Scotland has now two efficient University representatives in Dr Playfair and Mr Gordon. Dr Playfair, when he took his seat, soon proved himself to be independent of Mr Moncreiff. At the annual dinner of the Inverness, Ross, and Nairn Club, held December 10th, 1869, Mr Gordon, in thanking the company for their congratulations on his election as Mr Moncreiff's successor, quietly explained how he had contended against his own party for the due representation of the Scottish Universities:—"He deemed it a very great honour to be the representative of such distinguished bodies. He could boast of a constituency which might be said almost to be unequalled in point of acquirements. It was gratifying to him to find that he was the member for these Universities, for he had considerable difficulties in securing representatives for the Universities of Scotland. While these contests were ng he did not explain these difficulties; but he assured them that at one time

always forthcoming to erect princely Universities and splendid Churches; but the battle is then only begun. With great effort £50,000 have been raised in aid of the University of Edinburgh; but the annual interest amounting to £2000 is a scanty contribution to the annual revenue of a metropolitan University. Another valuable boon would be guaranteed to the Universities by the appropriation of part of the money expended in superfluous Presbyterian Churches.* Has it never struck those who are even superficially acquainted with Scottish Universities that there are too few Professors of certain branches? In the German Universities, as well as in Oxford and Cambridge, there is a wholesome rivalry in teaching, which stimulates both the Professors and the students. It is true, indeed, that Mr Inglis's Act provides nominal safeguards against professorial incapacity which were not previously in existence. Still, they are practically inoperative. There are now in our Universities Professors who are almost useless, as is notorious to their colleagues and their students.† Why, then, should

they were so great that even his friends on his own side of the House were almost favourable to the abandonment of the project. But he was resolved that the matter should be brought to the test, because he was fully satisfied that the result, if the question was tried, would be that he would find a majority of the members even of Scotland in favour of the proposition. (Cheers.) He felt exceedingly gratified by all the circumstances connected with his election; and it was perhaps not the least agreeable to him that he owed his seat to the result of a fair fight, and not merely to the forbearance of opponents. But the battle being over, and the contest having been won, he had been exceedingly gratified by the manner in which his success had been received by those who thought it their duty to record their votes against him. He had great satisfaction also in finding that his return to the House of Commons had been hailed by many, not only upon his own side of the House, but by several upon the other side. He was gratified to receive from a very leading member on the other side a strong expression of his gratification at the prospect of seeing him face to face again, and of hope that his presence there would contribute to successful legislation for Scotland."

* The reduction in the number of Arts students would be compensated by withdrawing students from Normal Schools, and insisting on their attending a university for at least two sessions. Besides, the erection of gymnasiums in the provinces will ensure a supply of high-class scholars.

† In proof of this assertion I may explain that, in the fourth decade of this century, several students who attended Edinburgh University for one session, and were taught by Professors Pillans and Dunbar, migrated to Glasgow for the remainder of their course. In Edinburgh, Dr Ritchie then was Professor of Logic, and Dr Wallace of Mathematics. Both were in their dotage, and the latter employed substitutes. In Glasgow, Professor Buchanan was a very efficient instructor, and Dr James Thomson was, I believe, the best teacher of a large

the University suffer when the remedy is at hand? But money is indispensable to this end, and this can be obtained easily by a concentration of Scottish Presbyterian churches.

Before the passing of Mr Inglis's Act, the Scottish Universities were stricken with poverty. In some of them the edifices

mathematical class ever known in a Scottish University. I never saw Dr Thomson, but he must have been a kind preceptor. My esteemed friend and colleague, the late Mr Henry Blyth, of Buckhaven, Fifeshire, was, as I have heard, the most promising mathematical student that Dr Thomson ever had. He will be remembered by Sir William Thomson, Dr John Caird, Dr Cuthbert, Dr Montgomery, the Rev. R. R. Rae, of Avondale, and other distinguished contemporaries. Dr Thomson pressed Mr Blyth to proceed to Cambridge, where he would probably have become Senior Wrangler; but his religious belief had been shaken by the speculations of Laplace, and he declined to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. After this eclipse of his faith had passed away, the Doctor again urged him to enter Cambridge, but his United Presbyterian scruples now stood in the way. While under the spell of Laplace, he endured much obloquy in Glasgow University; but Dr Thomson, knowing that his errors were merely speculative, remained his strongly-attached friend, and the result justified his hopes. Dr Thomson procured for him a Mathematical Mastership in Darlington. Thence he removed to Woolwich, which he left for Millhill Grammar School, near London. That a man of his transcendent scientific talents should have expended them in such schools is discreditable to the University system of Scotland, or rather to its want of endowments. Here was a United Presbyterian fitted to adorn his country. He had no talents for preaching, and the Parish Schools for which he was also unfitted by his contempt for classics, were legally closed against him. What could he do but remove to England? There, again, the antiquated prejudices against Presbyterians excluded him from the endowed Grammar Schools, although I could name a standard scientific treatise, of which a large portion was written by him, while others claimed the authorship. Such was the bent of his mathematical mind, that he could read and master Laplace, Lacroix, or Tambour, while engaged in conversation with several friends. His health was undermined by the miserable accommodation provided for tutors in many English Schools. In London he became a member of the Rev. Robert Redpath's United Presbyterian Church, and occasionally attended the infidel clubs to refute them with their open weapons. Such was his candour and absence of assumption, that the tall, homely, scientific Scotsman was treated by them with general respect, especially as he never imputed to them worse motives than those which he claimed for himself. He died at a comparatively early age, at Kennoway, about 1853. Having had much intercourse with skilled artisans in the largest Scottish and English towns, I can testify to a widespread prejudice which prevails among them against ministers of the Gospel, whom they accuse of being indifferent or hostile to their interests. This prejudice is sedulously fostered by the more fanatical Roman Catholic priests. Shortly after Mr Blyth left Glasgow University, another great mathematician entered its walls—Mr John Ker, from Arran, now Dr Ker, author of a clear and ingenious treatise on "Mechanics." Is it not a pity to see a man of his attainments teaching arithmetic and the first four books of Euclid in the Glasgow Free Normal ·ool, with an income of little more than half of the Rectors?

were in a state of dilapidation and decay, and the great improvement which the Act has effected proves the necessity for further grants from the Treasury. Of all the Universities, that of Edinburgh has always been in the most destitute and precarious condition. "James the Sixth, its founder, was ambitious of being commended as the founder and greatest benefactor of this great literary establishment, inserted in the charter an imposing list of ecclesiastical properties for its support, which, however, were found to possess little more than a nominal value, even the ground on which the College was built (the Kirk of Field) could only be obtained by purchase from a menial servant of the king, who had acquired a title to it; and in like manner the other royal benefactions proved in a great measure delusive."* In respect of academical endowments and other grants from the Imperial treasury, Ireland has surely received her full share. During the Parliamentary Session of 1868, Mr M'Laren, M.P.,† moved for and obtained a most instructive

* See article, "Universities," in the 8th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," by my friend the late Professor Ferguson, Aberdeen, author of the anonymous Edinburgh Academy Latin Rudiments, still a text-book in the hands of most Scottish and many English boys. The Professor was a Dumfriesshire man. The students of that county have long been very successful in carrying away honours from Edinburgh University, owing, I presume, to its excellent parish schools. Bishop Newman's work on the "Functions of Universities" will amply repay a perusal.

† I ought to express my thanks to Mr M'Laren, M.P., for his kindness in enabling me to refer to this return. I have no reason to believe that Mr M'Laren will approve of the main aim of this publication. He lately said that no intelligent man could count on the existence of the Established Church of Scotland for the next thirty years. I sincerely trust that there will be a National Church for a much longer period, and such is my estimate of Mr M'Laren's talents, perseverance, and honesty of purpose, that I could wish him to live for thirty years to see his prophecy proved false. A generation is passing away which remembers Mr M'Laren's enormous and successful exertions to save the city creditors, when the city was bankrupt. His patriotic services in planting Heriot Schools over the city have been beyond all praise. Established Churchmen may need to be reminded that Mr M'Laren has always paid the Annuity-Tax, which so many of their own members refused to pay, and that for forty years he has subscribed to the Church of Scotland's Schools in the Highlands and Islands.—Mr John Bright, M.P., Mr M'Laren's brother-in-law, must be a punctual and obliging correspondent. A pleasing instance of this fact has recently been told me. Mr John Macmillan, M.A., Emeritus classical master and examiner of the Edinburgh High School, formerly master of the High School of Glasgow, was sometime classical tutor in the school at Walmgate Bar, York, kept by William Simpson, a member of the Society of Friends. Among Mr Macmillan's pupils were John Bright and his younger brother, Thomas, who is now the managing partner in

Return of Sums voted in Civil Service Estimates, applicable to Scotland and Ireland, for the year ending March 31st, 1867. The figures were—

Scotland.	Ireland.
£418,416.	£1,938,671.

This expenditure is out of all proportion, as Ireland contains a population only double that of Scotland. The revenue derived from the two countries stood thus :—

Scotland.	Ireland.
£8,289,242.	£6,317,121.*

A great diminution in the number of students in several Scottish Universities was caused by the foundation of the two English Universities of London and Durham, and of the Queen's Colleges of Ireland. That London, the capital of England and of the world, should not have possessed a University till the nineteenth century, must have appeared strange to those who take an interest in University education. In

the firm of Bright Brothers, of Rochdale. John Bright was then a quiet, kindly, intelligent boy of thirteen, very attentive to his Latin lessons, but he was of a delicate constitution. Mr Macmillan left York in 1825. Thirty-one years after, when Mr Bright was M.P. for Manchester, Mr Macmillan wrote requesting him to use his influence in the House of Commons in behalf of an Athenian scholar who had been badly used in Belfast College. Mr Bright answered promptly and politely, thanking his old tutor for his efficient tuition, and expressing his gratification at seeing him a master in the Edinburgh High School. The postscript to the letter, written in a neat hand, states that he had despatched thirty letters that day! Mr Macmillan has the good fortune to rank among his pupils George Young, now Q.C., M.P., and Lord Advocate of Scotland, who was his pupil in Dumfries Academy, and who gracefully presided at a dinner given to Mr Macmillan, some years ago in Edinburgh. To have taught Mr Bright and Mr Young must be matter of pride to their esteemed master at the end of his honourable career, and their grateful recognition of his skill and assiduity in storing their youthful minds with classic lore is highly creditable to them and to him. An old pupil, who is grateful to his tutor, is rarely a bad-hearted man.

* While Scotland receives only £80,000 a-year from the Privy Council Grants, England receives £700,000. According to the rate of population, Scotland ought to receive £120,000. After my discussion of the Education Question had been printed, I read the report of the interview which the Lord Advocate had with the Professors of Edinburgh and St Andrew's Universities on the subject of national education. I am gratified to find that my views are in the main corroborated by the high authority of Sir Alexander Grant, Principal Tulloch, and Principal Shairp, with none of whom I have held communication. Mr W. E. [illegible]ster, M.P., Vice-President of the Privy Council Board of Education, admits the [illegible]t system of grants to be a failure.

every other European capital except Brussels and Amsterdam, an ancient University has been in active operation for centuries. A retrospect of the Saxon Heptarchy, and of the struggles of the English language to escape from provincial trammels, and to attain a standard idiom, would enable us to understand why Oxford and Cambridge, both situated near the centre of England, were privileged to obtain their Universities, which, with all their faults, have shed a benign influence on the English soil.* Like the two cities set upon a hill, to which Hazlitt compares Athens and Rome, Oxford and Cambridge must always stand conspicuous in the classical wilderness.

The University of London obtained its original charter in 1836 from William the Fourth; but in 1837, it was revoked, and a new one was granted by Queen Victoria. In 1849, a supplementary charter was granted, and in 1854 a fourth, with an extended and definite constitution. According to Scottish and European standards, the London University is hardly entitled to the appellation. It has scarcely a local habitation, and no teaching staff, being merely an examining body, with a charter empowering it to confer certain degrees. It has in affiliation with it a large number of colleges and schools in England and Wales, which regard it as the fountain of honour and authority. No attendance at classes is required of candidates for its degrees, but the money deposited before the examination commences is retained in case of failure.†

The University of Durham was opened in 1833. It obtained the sanction of the Bishop in 1835, and a charter was granted in 1837. Without any exaggeration, it may be said

* Students of English philology will find ample explanations of this fact in Latham's "English Language," and in Craik's work on the "English Language and Literature." Dr Craik was Professor of Logic in Queen's College, Belfast, and brother of Dr Craik of Glasgow, and of the late Rev. Henry Craik, Bristol, all distinguished students in St Andrew's University.

† The London University makes high pretensions, which, I fear, take the place of performance. Many of its graduates are sadly deficient in Latin and Greek prosody. One of them whom I knew in Glasgow, who was fond of interlarding his conversation with scraps of Latin and Greek—a practice shunned by good classical scholars, shocked my ears in one of his first quotations, by mispronouncing Icarum ὑπερείσης. He had been trained in a Normal College, and had passed his examination by cramming. Though the pronunciation of many English words is not fixed in England, a false quantity in classics covers the offender with ridicule, and is remembered against him. One important use of a University course is the

to have proved a failure. A few years ago the number of students had fallen to forty, and it was actually proposed to close its doors and merge it into Oxford.

Trinity College, Dublin, was founded in 1591, through the influence of Archbishop Loftus. In 1845, the Government of Sir Robert Peel wisely resolved to establish Queen's Colleges in Belfast, Cork, and Galway,* with a competent staff of Professors in each College. They are not sectarian, and although they have encountered formidable opposition from the Roman Catholic Bishops,† they have conferred important benefits on Ireland, which in the sixth century excelled England and Scotland in learning and civilisation.‡ It was then called the Island of Saints.

culture derived by association with Professors of exalted learning, and with fellow-students engaged in congenial studies. This advantage is not secured by a London University degree; consequently I cannot concur in a suggestion of Dr Begg's several years ago, that it should be accepted by the Presbyterian Churches in lieu of a regular University course. As soon as Oxford and Cambridge remove the legal disabilities of Dissenters, the London University will be materially damaged. At its formation, Theodore Hook and the "John Bull" wags nicknamed it "Stinkomalee."

* In 1863, I had occasion to review, for the "North British Daily Mail," the Report of the Queen's Colleges. In one of them the Professor of Agriculture, who received an adequate salary, had only one student. The Professor named the student, and censured him for not attending till the end of the Session. He also complained of the want of a retiring room, where he might prepare himself to meet his student. I ventured to hint that the student might also need a room to enable him to meet the Professor, and that he might have gone to the country to study agriculture practically. The whole affair was thoroughly Irish.

† Since the opening of the present session of Parliament, I rejoice to perceive the "Scotsman" warning Mr Gladstone against his presumed inclination to grant a charter to an Irish Roman Catholic University.

‡ By an odd coincidence Mr O'Connell and Sir Robert Henry Inglis, the member for Oxford University, a high and consistent Tory, concurred in denouncing the Queen's Colleges as "godless." In the House of Commons I heard Mr O'Connell condemn them as pernicious, and insinuate that he could not trust a Professor with the verb τυπτω, unless he had taken a religious test. With or without tests, a Professor may talk much nonsense. My former relations with Professor Blackie indispose me to say anything disagreeable, but he would stand vastly higher in public estimation if he would curb his real or affected drollery, in which he does not excel. When a man of unquestionable ability and scholarship like him chooses to play the Merry Andrew, the populace will think of the funny fellow, and forget the better part. Besides, the Professor is now in his seventh decade; and not only is he an Advocate, but he was for several sessions a student of theology in King's College, Old Aberdeen. A very readable and useful volume might be composed of his clever and acute lectures, delivered to his classes at the opening of the session.

CHAPTER VI.

Theology of Scotland and England—Prosecutions for Heresy—Dr Chalmers on National Church Establishments—Rev. Thomas Binney quoted—Rev. James Macnaughton and the Rev. Dr Rainy—Dr Robert Buchanan on the Rivalry of Christian Churches—Rev. J. H. Wilson and the Rev. W. J. Conybeare quoted—Rev. Mr Dickson of Newlands—Dr Chalmers on Territorial Churches—Edinburgh United Presbyterian Presbytery on the Union Question—The late Professor Robertson, of Ellon—Moral Condition of Edinburgh—Mr Thomas Knox, Dr Begg, and Mr Bright, M.P., quoted—History and Increase of Scottish Pauperism—Mr Crawfurd, M.P., quoted—Mr M'Laren, M.P., on the Edinburgh Boards—Lord Kinnaird quoted.

HAVING proved from irresistible evidence that, with all the educational machinery now in operation, tens of thousands of Scottish children are growing up as heathens, mainly through the baneful effects of internecine Presbyterianism, it is fitting that I should briefly advert to the pernicious rivalry of the Presbyterian Churches, and the degraded condition of a large portion of the Scottish adult population. Humiliating as the confession may be, no attentive observer can deny that scepticism, and, what is perhaps worse, utter carelessness to religion in any shape, is acquiring daily strength and fixity. If a man is an unbeliever in the fundamental truths of Christianity, he is, in some respects, in a more hopeful condition than he who refuses to examine its credentials, and is sunk in frivolous or sensual indulgence; for, by his own volition, he has become akin to the beasts that perish.*

Such being the facts, Where are the causes of the mischief? Is it the want of Bibles? Thanks to Dr Adam Thomson, of Coldstream, aided by Lord Murray and other coadjutors, the Bible is the cheapest book in the English language, though the time has not long gone by when the price of a complete copy of the Word of God was a heavy tax on the poor man. Is it

* Victor Cousin, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant, touches with his usual felicity on the philosophy of indifference, and Lamennais produced a profound sensation in France by the publication on the evils of indifference in matters of religion.

the want of a scriptural faith? Has Holy Scripture been handled deceitfully, and has the ark of the Covenant been betrayed by its own priests? So far is this from the truth, that nine-tenths of the Scottish people, including all the Presbyterian Churches and the vast majority of Episcopalians, saving a few bigoted Bishops and Deans, are at one on those doctrines, which would have satisfied the Apostles, who had their own keen differences on minor points, thus proving that entire unanimity of profession or practice is an idle phantasy.* More than this: the Scottish Churches are unanimous to an extent which may well-nigh provoke the envy of other Protestant nations, because no value can be set on the unanimity of Churches whose first step in their theological creed is the surrender of their private judgments to the authority of a conclave of priests. Ireland offers no parallel to Scotland. England also presents a strong contrast. Her Established Church not only differs widely from the large Dissenting Societies, but it is distracted by powerful parties within, which are at deadly feud on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Thinly-veiled Popery is represented by Pusey, Bennett, and Littledale; Calvinism by M'Neile, Birks and Miller; Broad Churchism by Kingsley, Stanley, and Alford; Rationalism by Colenso, Jowett, and Voysey.† Accord-

* Not long ago, Dr Littledale assailed the character of the Reformers in the most scurrilous and revolting language, declaring that they were worse than the cut-throats of the first French Revolution. Another of the same class is the Rev. Dr Irons, whose father was a Congregationalist minister in London, whom I once heard preach. Among the "clerical adventurers" in the English Church, Conybeare stigmatises the "Irish fortune-hunter," ordained in Tipperary, who seeks an incumbency in England and marries a rich widow—the "creeping climber" who, by tuft-hunting and time-serving, determines to die a bishop—the "renegade dissenter," who finishes his career at St Bees College, and cuts his father who adheres to the patrimonial creed —and the "society's agent," who spends his life in a perpetual tour, "speechifying every day at some new place, and dining afterwards upon venison and claret with the chairman of the meeting." (See "Ecclesiastical Economy," pp. 186, 187.)

† See Note T, Appendix. In justice to the Church of England, it ought to be kept in mind that England contains six times the population of Scotland, and that in every large denomination, whether endowed or not, there must be greater diversity of sentiment than in a small one. It has been hinted in a previous note that small sects are in danger of fostering spiritual pride. Various diminutive sects, such as the Adamites, Priscillians, and Picardites, while making the highest pretensions to religious fervour, have outraged public decency. The Agapemone and the Mormons, in modern times, illustrate these remarks. No one can fully understand

ing to some eminent Anglican divines, this comprehensiveness is the glory of their Church, but it is not according to the genius of the Scottish character, or of the Presbyterian Church. A third cause is supposable. Is the profligacy so prevalent in Scotland attributable to the scarcity of ministers or places of worship? A glance at any clerical Almanac will be a sufficient answer to this question.* Temples and ministers are far more numerous and costly than at any former period of Scottish history since the Reformation. Since 1843, the Free Church alone has set down nearly a thousand places of worship. The Established Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Congregationalists, and the Episcopalians have been lengthening their cords and strengthening their stakes; and the Evangelical Unionists have, within the same period, sprung into existence, and obtained a sure footing. But, as it has been forcibly expressed, by Dr Charteris, the Presbyterians have been all the while "cutting one another's throats." Their time, strength, energy, and efforts have been in a great degree misspent and misdirected.†

If the laymen of these Churches would consent to a momentary truce in the midst of their inter-Presbyterian squabbles,

the Mormons without reading Mr Hepworth Dixon's "New America"—a book of travels equalling Mr Kinglake's "Eothen" in its fascinating power. Brigham Young is a singular mixture of the dupe and the impostor. The Shakers appear to be a very peaceable, industrious, and not unamiable people.

* See Note U, Appendix, for the statistics of Scottish religious denominations.

† One is amazed to discover how men who are now esteemed models of orthodoxy have been at some time impeached for heresy. Probably not one in a thousand of the members, and not one in twenty of the ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, know that the venerable and learned Dr William Pringle, of Auchterarder, ran the gauntlet. In 1828 he had assisted the Rev. Mr Forrester, of Kinkell, at the dispensation of the Sacrament, and preached two sermons on the text, "It is finished," in which he taught that Christ had died for all, and that this was the foundation for the universal call of the Gospel. Mr Forrester reciprocated Mr Pringle's brotherly aid by complaining of him to the Presbytery of Perth, which referred the case to the Synod. Mr Pringle was acquitted, not without explanation, but the Synod issued an admonition to the Church, containing unnecessary reference to the case of the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, of Row.—(See Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church. By the Rev. Andrew Robertson, Stow. 1846.) The Messrs Oliphant, the obliging publishers of this work, inform me that the demand for it is regulated by the keenness of the discussions on the Atonement question in Church Courts. Mr Robertson is now a minister in Victoria. Mr Forrester was doubtless a worthy man, but inheriting the old Seceder hankering of often lifting up his testimony against some erring brother

which have no root in reason, and bear no fruits of charity, I would beseech them to listen to the counsels and profit by the example of the greatest Scotsman of the nineteenth century. He was not a Peer of Parliament, though he was a nobleman by God's creation. He was not a Lord-Bishop, though the whole bench of Bishops might have honoured themselves by sitting at his feet. He was not a politician, though statesmen and senators of the highest rank courted his friendship and admired his wisdom. He was a man of rare genius, of lofty

whose expositions did not quite harmonise with his own. A very puny and foolish accuser, with a little venom, can easily torture a noble victim. Invent a nickname, and the work is half done. What is mis-named the religious press will probably repeat, exaggerate, and distort the accusations, and the accused will hardly obtain a hearing. Nor is this injustice peculiar to Presbyterianism. "Nicknames," as Principal Tulloch truly observes, "have always been the resort of exasperated and decaying factions." At the January meeting of the Edinburgh United Presbyterian Church, 1870, Dr George Johnston gave notice of a motion to send to the Presbytery of Dundee certain doctrinal statements of the Rev. George Gilfillan, who has published his resolution to meet the charge by citing Dr William Anderson and Dr William Peddie as having also expressed their objections to certain portions of the Confession of Faith. My readers will bear in mind that it was the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers who, about the beginning of this century, set the example of tampering with the Confession, and the United Presbyterians profess to be their legitimate descendants. In 1841, Dr Heugh, a truly earnest but overrated man, drew up the libel against the Rev. James Morison. During the meeting of Synod he wrote—"Morison very ready and plausible. Morison suspended, my motion being carried without opposition." After Mr Morison's secession, fresh outbreaks ensued. In 1843, he wrote—"The State of our Church not a little uncomfortable and menacing." In 1844—"A stormy Synod. What wrangling! What wrath! How much better had we been honouring the Atonement by its joint celebration in Christ's own ordinance than in worse than vain disputes about it, accompanied with so much crimination and recrimination. May we speak the truth in love." Again, in 1845—"Sad work at the Synod, Drs Marshall and Hay have libelled Dr Brown." On his deathbed, in 1846, almost his last words were—"Its a terrible thing to stint the Gospel." (See Life of Dr Heugh, by the Rev. H. M. Macgill.) What with the Union Question, and the Organ Controversy, the United Presbyterian Synod may have ample work in store. Its older ministers must know that since 1841, the laity and the periodical press have taken a much larger share in theological discussions. I have seen a work advertised as "An Exposition of the Heretical Tendencies of the Rev. Dr Eadie's Analytical Concordance of the Bible Classified. By James Johnstone, an Elder of the Free Church of Scotland, 1861." I have not seen Mr Johnston's exposure of Dr Eadie, whom I have been accustomed to regard as a profound biblical scholar, a superior preacher, an efficient professor, and a faithful pastor. Has Dr George Johnston examined the impeachment? Dr Eadie's Concordance I have found very useful, and I used his handy Bible Dictionary for many years, until I procured Dr W. L. Alexander's admirable edition of Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia.

intellect, of splendid imagination, excelling in abstract and applied sciences, soaring into the highest heavens of contemplation, yet surpassing most of his contemporaries in profound sympathy with the capacities, joys, sorrows, aspirations, and employments of his fellow-men. Need I name Thomas Chalmers? Like many other great men, he was involuntarily absorbed in the vortex of ephemeral controversies, worthy only of meaner spirits, whose names perish with them. But his transcendent merits and services can never be forgotten or depreciated by any but recreant Scotsmen. In no department of religious or social organization was his wisdom more conspicuous than in his extirpation of pauperism in the poorest parish of Glasgow, and in his establishment of a Mission church and school in the West Port of Edinburgh at the close of his valuable life. In the true sense of the term, he was a Conservative and a Radical combined: he went to the root of all evils, and thus preserved what deserved to live.

Although Dr Chalmers put forth all his herculean strength to accomplish whatever he had set his heart upon as conducive to the spiritual, social, or economical well-being of his countrymen, he never believed that what is called Voluntaryism was able to cope with the requirements of a Christian commonwealth. As a political economist, he estimated the value of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations;" yet his practical sagacity and intuitive insight taught him to perceive the fallacy of transferring the argument from the region of trade to literature and religion. In 1827, when Professor of Moral Philosophy in St Andrews, he published his brief but weighty essay on the "Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments," in which the questions of education in schools and universities, and of parochial economy, are admirably handled with a precision and wisdom to which few recent speculations can lay claim. How cogently he states the dissimilarity between the appetite for bodily food and mental sustenance! "There is an utter dissimilarity between the mental appetite for knowledge, and the physical appetite for those necessaries, or even those luxuries of life, which constitute the great materials of commerce. It is not with the desire of knowledge, as it is with the desire of food. Generally speaking,

the more ignorant a man is, the more satisfied he is to remain so; but the more hungry a man is, the less satisfied he is to remain so. In the one case, the starvation of the mind is followed up by the apathy of an utter disregard for the food of the mind. In the other case, the starvation of the body is followed up by the agony of an intolerant desire of the food of the body, and to appease which any exertion or sacrifice will be made. There is no such appetite for knowledge as will secure a spontaneous and originating movement towards it on the part of those who need to be subsisted. In the matter of education, the supply of the article cannot be confided to the operation of demand and supply; for there is not a sufficiently effective demand."*

Is there less truth in the following extract?—"The cause of endowments, rightly understood, is essentially popular. The common conception of them is not the true one. The popular and original object is not to aggrandise the clergyman, but to cheapen the Christian education of the people. Ministers are the fishers of men; and the effect of an endowment is to lengthen their line, and enable them to reach downward to the lowest gradation of the commonwealth. The voluntaries are a kind of fly-fishers, whose operations do not reach to the muddy bottom, to those depths and those fastnesses of society which to them are inacessible."† To all except those who, as I have

* See "Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments," pp. 25, 26.

† Quoted in "Turner's History of the Secession of 1843." Lest some may imagine that Dr Chalmers changed his mind after the Disruption, I quote from his Earnest Appeal to the Free Church of Scotland on the subject of its Economics. "My hopes of an extended Christianity from the efforts of Voluntaryism alone have *not* been brightened by my experience since the Disruption. . . And ere I am satisfied that Voluntaryism will repair the mischief, I must first see the evidence of its success in making head against the fearfully increased heathenism, and increasing still, that accumulates at so fast a rate throughout the great bulk and body of the common people. We had better not say too much on the pretensions or the powers of Voluntaryism, till we have made some progress in reclaiming the wastes of ignorance, and irreligion, and profligacy which so overspread our land; or till we see whether the congregational selfishness, which so predominates everywhere, can be prevailed on to make larger sacrifices for the Christian good of the world. . . . And so the argument for State Endowments, if only given on a right principle, will stand thus:—Are the thousands and the tens of thousands whom Voluntaryism, with all its efforts, and, we may well add, with all its high-sounding pretensions, has failed to overtake,—are they to be sacrificed to an impotent and most inoperative theory,—a theory tried in all its forms, and most palpably found wanting? We rejoice, therefore, in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a National Establishment, and most earnestly do we

heard Dr Chalmers say, could comprehend only half a subject, these words have always appeared unanswerable. Disguise it as they may, the first and unavoidable question put by the Presbyteries of unendowed Churches to worshippers asking a minister, is, "How much money can you raise annually?"

hope that she will never fall away from it." Various causes, which I need not explain, prevented the publication of this Essay in October, 1869, but the delay has enabled me to quote the weighty words of the Rev. Thomas Binney, of London, to whom I referred in my introduction. Never till I read his speech in the "Christian World," December 17th, 1869, did I imagine that Mr Binney had ever been left by his congregation, containing many carriage people, without a shilling in his house. At a meeting of his old congregation in his old chapel, on December 14th, 1869, he was presented with £1339, 15s., at the end of his forty years' ministry—no extravagant sum when compared with the Free Church presents witnessed in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Mr Binney said:—"It will be remembered that when I retired from the more regular duties of the pulpit in the Weigh House, I distinctly expressed a strong and earnest desire that there might be no public meeting, not even a congregational one, but that, with perfect quietness, the new order of things should succeed the old. I had no idea that that arrangement would have been disturbed. With respect to a testimonial in the form of money, or anything else, I never dreamed of it; it never came within a dozen miles of me. When it was first mentioned that my friends would like a congregational meeting, the only idea I had was that the congregation would meet in the vestry where there would be a reciprocal expression of kindly feeling. I never had a thought of anything further. The whole thing was managed with such privacy that it was long before I had the slightest idea that there was anything of the kind on foot; and when I did get an inkling of it, I did not know what to think about it. With respect to the probable amount, I really was very moderate in my expectations. I did not know where any large sum of money was to come from. I thought perhaps they would get £300 or £400; but anything like this large sum of money never entered my mind; and I was utterly astonished by an intimation that I received from Mr Morley, when we were travelling together in the west of England, that it would be something approaching to the amount of this cheque—it took me thoroughly by surprise. But (here Mr Binney paused a moment as if in deep thought), I won't give it back. (Much laughter.) I think it is a very good thing—(renewed laughter and applause)—a very good thing that it has not taken the form of plate. Let me alone to plate myself. (Laughter.) I much prefer to receive it in this form. Now, let me tell you a secret. I think that the present generation at Weigh House, at the end of forty years, are just making up for the little want of thought which marked the generation at the beginning of the forty years. (Laughter.) My people then were exceedingly well off; many of them came in their carriages, and really they had everything round about them, and never thought that anybody else could want it. The consequence was that during my first six months in London I never had a shilling; frequently I never had a shilling in the house until I preached a lecture on Sunday evening and got a guinea for it. But I never breathed a word of it. In all the forty years I never asked for more than the salary that was given to me; I never struck for wages. In the first five or six years I was in London with a sick wife and an increase of

With all their eagerness to multiply their congregations, and to parade the extension of their cause on paper, financial considerations are imperative, for the United Presbyterians have only a limited supplementary fund at their disposal; and even Dr Robert Buchanan is mindful of the "inverted cone."* If the

family, my income did not pay my expenses, and I spent nearly £1000 more than I received from Weigh House. The additional amount came to me in little legacies. Now, I think it is a little poetical justice—(laughter)—that the present generation should at the end of forty years make me a present of this kind which will rather more than cover the deficiency to which I have referred. This is not given, I think, exactly in the same spirit as that which once actuated a country congregation in doing something of this sort. There was a feeling among a good many of the people that the minister had been there quite long enough, and that it was time they should have a change; and they thought it would smooth the way to a retirement if they gave him a testimonial. They accordingly got up a testimonial, which was presented at a meeting like this; and the friends expressed themselves in such warm terms of admiration that the old man said he certainly had thought of retiring—(laughter)—but after the kind manner in which they had spoken of him, he could not think of such a thing. (Laughter.) Now, I do not think this is meant in that spirit; but if it were, I should not say what that minister said, because here I am, as you see, worn to a bone—(laughter)—crushed down by the weight of years and labour, and I mean to have some rest."

* "The Presbyterian," edited by Dr Rainy, taunts the Rev. Mr Macnaught with the smallness of his congregation's contributions to the schemes of the Free Church, and specifies the Education Fund, which I have proved to have been squandered on the Glasgow Free Normal College. Dr Rainy ought to have been—must have been—aware that Mr Macnaught was ordained in a new mission church in Maitland Street, on the south side of Glasgow, in the midst of a poor population. Dr Rainy was translated from Huntly to the Free High Church, Edinburgh, which contained a large congregation, bequeathed to him by the venerable Dr Gordon. When Dr Rainy, who was not a success in the pulpit, was shelved in the Free Church College, did he bequeath to the Rev. Mr Arnot a congregation much larger than that now worshipping in Mr Macnaught's church? Dr Rainy's introduction to Huntly is known only in the North of Scotland. I happen to be tolerably well informed respecting the facts of that memorable transaction. For obvious reasons I suppress the name of the minister, still living, who resigned to pave the way for Dr Rainy. He was one of those Old Light Burghers who had joined the Church of Scotland in 1839. While a student he had taught the Greek class for three sessions in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and as I subsequently conducted the Latin class for a short time in the same college, I became acquainted with his talents and scholarship. He also gained the Blackford Prize for the Essay on the "Effects of the Reformation," and the essay was printed. For many years he was minister of an Old Light Burgher Congregation in Stirling, and a most acceptable preacher and pastor. When he assisted at the Sacrament in Aberdeen, the deserted church was crowded. After the Disruption he was translated to Huntly, where his pulpit services drew a large congregation. A few years after his settlement, the fickle and somewhat imperious Dowager Duchess of Gordon—an Episcopalian who had joined the Free Church—harboured some dislike to the Free Church minister. Sundry injurious rumours began to be circulated against his

petitioners cannot guarantee the sum required, what will become of them? Worse still, if there are tens of thousands who make no such overtures, and who would both trample on the heavenly pearls, and rend the hand that scatters them, what is to be done? The commercial analogy of supply and demand is quite inapplicable, for among the very classes which are most sunken and debased, there is a positive aversion to intellectual and spiritual instruction.*

In Scotland, then, it is sheer trifling with facts to affirm that there is a paucity of ministers. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the clerical labourers are not few; on the contrary, they are by far too many, and the chief end of Scotsmen is not to build unnecessary churches, and support redundant pastors. This truth has been very fairly and forcibly expressed by one who speaks from painful experience:—"We cannot fail to come in each other's way. In some cases, poor and spiritually destitute localities will be neglected, because neither Church may have, by itself alone, the means of overtaking them; while in other cases the spirit of denominational

character; but though they were utterly unfounded, his peace of mind was so harassed that he was induced to retire, with his full status as a minister, on his Sustentation Fund allowance—the opposition from Huntly Lodge having proved too powerful for him, especially as it was backed by representations from Free Church leaders. He removed to Edinburgh, and would probably have been chosen minister of a Free Church there, if the same leaders had not interfered in behalf of a country minister, who was appointed, and is now also a leader—one of themselves. A large sum had been promised to the congregation by some rich lady if they would elect him. All discreet men receive with caution rumours to the prejudice of Christians whose character is otherwise irreproachable. Two apposite instances may be cited. The late Rev. Dr Kidd, of Aberdeen, who has been so happily sketched by Professor Masson in "Macmillan's Magazine," lay for many years under a vile accusation, which was proved to be utterly unjust. Much more recently, the late Rev. Dr Harris, author of "Mammon," and Principal of the New College, St John's Wood, London, was for some years the victim of a posthumous slander, which turned out to be the fabrication of a female monomaniac. On her deathbed the slanderer confessed her forgeries, and the reputation of an amiable man and accomplished preacher was purged of all stain.

* Some English Presbyterian ministers have been propounding a scheme for having only one regular sermon on Sunday. They propose that the minister should devote the afternoon to home-mission work, and that the members of the church should aid him as evangelists. This scheme has been forced on them by the spectacle of masses of ignorance and irreligion and immorality in the crowded centres of industry, and by the wide gulf which separates them from Christian ordinances. If one or other alternative must be adopted, it is better that the Presbyterian congregations should have only one diet of worship, than that the masses should be utterly neglected.

rivalry, or even the legitimate and honourable desire of each Church to supply the religious wants of its own adherents, may lead to the planting, in many a small village or rural population, of two churches and two ministers, where in reality there is room for only one. The waste of money and of men resulting from such a state of things were evil enough, even if that were all. But that is not all. A far worse consequence will be found in those miserable jealousies and heartburnings and alienations of feeling which are sure to spring up between ministers of congregations so unfortunately situated. Where two congregations are struggling for existence, and where each, by every success it gains, is aggravating the difficulties of the other, what reasonable hope can there be for either ministers or people dwelling in unity? . . . Multitudes are drifting away, they know not whither."* Few of my readers will be able to guess the author of this extract. It was spoken in 1866 by one well aware of the evils of erecting small congregations for the purpose of gratifying denominational zeal, and Dr Norman Macleod, Dr Tulloch, Dr Crawford, Dr Charteris, Dr William Smith, and Dr Robert Wallace, would all say Amen to every word of the quotation. Who, then, was the speaker? It was no other than Dr Robert Buchanan, who was arguing in favour of his favourite Union scheme, but who must see that it warrants a much wider conclusion than he meant his hearers to draw. As I have been obliged, by a regard for historical accuracy, to handle the Doctor somewhat severely, I desire to part with him on amicable terms, to thank him for his tardy confession, and to dismiss him with a gentle admonition, hoping that he will henceforth write histories of ecclesiastical transactions more faithfully, and make a strong effort to discard what has been his evil genius for the last thirty years—the fiction of irresponsible and irreversible spiritual independence.†

Much ignorance prevails regarding the condition of the

* See "Scotsman," May 31st, 1866.

† Among the many instances of the planting of unnecessary Free Churches with Dr Buchanan's concurrence, I may cite two which occurred a few years before he delivered this speech. The United Presbyterian congregation of Busby was distracted by some unhappy dissensions, and the Free Church hastened to open a ·val preaching station, the service being conducted by a student. The United ʰyterian minister lost heart, and emigrated with his large family to one of the

masses, not so much in the large cities as in the smaller towns. Dr Chalmers's favourite scheme of parochial economy was, that each minister should have a district assigned to him, and that he should be held responsible for its spiritual condition. At the present time, no man is more intimately versed in the social and religious condition of Edinburgh and Scotland generally, than the Rev. J. H. Wilson, minister of the Free Barclay Church. He was one of the speakers at the last Missionary meeting of the United Presbyterian Church in the Music Hall. His statements are sad and suggestive. Deplorable as is the state of the masses in the large cities, he maintains that they are even worse in many of the provinces where there are no Home Missions. His remarks on the artisans deserve to be quoted:— "There were large manufactories and workshops, and other places of labour, where hundreds of men were employed, and where hardly one man out of a hundred made any Christian profession."* "It is a melancholy fact," say Conybeare, "that the men who make our steam-engines and railway carriages, our presses and telegraphs, the furniture of our houses and the clothing of our persons, have now in a fearful proportion renounced all faith in Christianity. They regard the Scriptures as a forgery, and religion as a priestcraft, and are living without God in this world.†" Mr Wilson's views as to the remedy are the result of vast experience as an evangelistic labourer; the fruits of which experience are visible in his now large congregation. "He would fain have ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, and of the Free Church,

colonies. Although his successor was an ordained minister of high gifts, as well as indefatigable in his pastoral work, and although the parish minister, whose church of Carmunnock is not far off, is a most respectable minister, the Free Church station was continued, and the student has been settled as its minister. About the same time a Free Church station was opened in Govan, professedly for the benefit of the Free Church Highlanders; but ere long an English service was introduced, which so offended the Rev. Mr Johnston, the estimable Free Church minister of Govan, that he resigned his charge. He is now minister of the Established Church at Shettleston, near Glasgow. Before leaving Govan, he asked the Free Presbytery of Glasgow whether it would have treated Dr Buchanan or Dr Henderson as it had treated him. Dr Buchanan's adviser and agent was the Rev. Dugald M'Coll, of the Free Bridgegate Church, a man of some vigour in his way, but not disposed to hide his light under a bushel, as can be attested by his co-Presbyters.

* See "Daily Review," May 14th, 1869.

† "Church Parties," in October number of "Edinburgh Review," 1853.

bona fide parish ministers, that was, ministers of parishes in which they lived and laboured, so far as the evangelism of the country was concerned."* This is sound practical counsel. And what is good for congregations engaged in evangelistic work cannot be bad for those of higher social rank, if they are truly evangelical. Proceeding in the same strain, Mr Wilson declared that "the whole world assailed the Church, and the Church's duty was to assail the world." When the Churches are actuated by such Christian zeal for the extinction of this moral heathenism overspreading the land, there need be little difficulty in removing petty local and denominational jealousy. Amid the miserable feuds which have embittered Scottish Presbyterianism, it is a real pleasure to rescue from oblivion an instance of brotherly love and material aid. During the last century, the parish minister of Newlands was the Rev. Mr Dickson, a relative of the late Dr David Dickson, the worthy minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. Mr Dickson, unlike the Doctor, was on bad terms with his co-presbyters, and it is said that he once arrested nearly all their stipends in connection with some litigation. But he was on the most friendly terms with the Rev. Mr Mair, the first Seceder minister of West Linton, in whose congregation the venerable Dr George Lawson was reared. So highly did he value Mr Mair's labours, that he gave him an annual slice of his stipend, on the score of ministerial aid afforded in the upper part of the parish. Mr Dickson was never taxed with indolence, and his kindly deed shows him to have been animated by a strong sense of justice, as well as of benevolence.†

* See "Daily Review," May 14th, 1869. I invite the reader to ponder Mr Wilson's remarks. He was never a minister in the Established Church—for little more than 200 of the present Free Church ministers ever were—but his conviction of the superiority of the territorial system was too strong for repression, even in addressing a professedly Voluntary assembly.

† I owe this pleasing anecdote to Dr Thomas Johnston, Glasgow, a great-grandson of the Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, and an inheritor of the talents and learning which seem to have been entailed in Mr Brown's numerous descendants, the Browns, Pattersons, and Johnstons. Since I received Dr Johnston's communication, I have seen an interesting report of the Anniversary Services of the United Presbyterian Congregation at West Linton. I have been struck with several facts in its history. 1. Its origin in 1737 is traceable to a forced settlement in the Established Church in 1731. 2. The present place of worship was erected in [illegible] and the debt is hardly liquidated. Not that I think the cost of erecting

During the heat of the Voluntary controversy, shallow witlings, who had never lifted a finger in philanthropy, loved to sneer at Dr Chalmers' theory of a territorial establishment, which he justly considered as a universal home mission. According to his theory and practice, while the pulpit of the minister is stationary, his person is moveable. Dr Chalmers set a very low value on mere sermon-preachers,* however able and eloquent, unless they were methodical and faithful in their week-day visits and services, since his own fruitful experience had taught him that a visit to the house of a parishioner was the surest way of finding an access to his heart, that everywhere a house-going minister wins for himself a church-going people, and that there is a strong alliance between the household activities of a minister and the Sabbath attendance of his people :—"There is a charm in the week-day services of a parish minister, which has not been duly estimated either by philanthropists or patriots. He, in the first instance, meets with

a chapel ought to be always paid at once after its erection, but eighty-five years is a long period. 3. After a secession from a parent Church has been accomplished, a re-union is effected with difficulty, the second generation of Seceders generally finding other reason than those which swayed the first. For instance, Mr Dickson, though battling with his co-presbyters in the Presbytery of Biggar, which was not a model one when I knew it, was kind to Mr Mair and the Burgher Seceders. The anniversary was attended by Mr John Howieson, a hale, hearty old member of the church, now in his 101st year.

* Dr Chalmers set little store by popular preachers who confined themselves to preaching, holding that they only emptied the churches of their less popular neighbours. As a proof that popular preaching may delude even rigid Dissenters, I may record a fact which is, as far as I know, without a parallel in the ecclesiastical annals of Scotland. About seventy years ago, three brothers, great grandsons of Ebenezer Erskine, were ordained ministers of the Burgher Seceders, one of whom, on succeeding to some property, changed his name, adopted the medical profession, and became a physiological lecturer in Edinburgh, where he died from scratching his finger in dissection. He was the most popular preacher of the three brothers, but during the whole of his ministry, and long before, he was a secret unbeliever. My father knew him intimately at the University, and when they met after he had relinquished the ministry, he was assured by him, that about his twelfth year he had begun to imbibe sceptical tenets. That such a man should have continued to be an unsuspected unbeliever, and an attractive preacher, is a psychological phenomenon. The fact is now for the first time published. His name is known to a very few of the oldest ministers of the United Presbyterian Church. He was a native of Auchtermuchty, Fifeshire, where his father was a Burgher Seceder minister.

general, and I had almost said, universal welcome from the families—at least from those in the humbler classes of society. Even the hardiest and most hopeless in vice cannot altogether withstand this influence; and at times, in their own domestic history, there are opportunities, whether by sickness, or disaster, or death, which afford a mighty advantage to the Christian kindness that is brought to bear upon them. It is thus that nature and providence may be said to act as the handmaids of Christianity, by the frequent openings which they afford to its officiating ministers; and of which, if he do avail himself, he is sure to obtain a vast moral ascendancy over the people. Even his courtesies on the way-side are not thrown away upon them; and little do they know of humanity, who would undervalue the most passing smiles and salutations which reciprocate between a clergyman and his people, whether as the symptoms or as the efficients of a cordiality the best fitted to soften the asperities of our nature, and so to cement and harmonize the jarring elements of a commonwealth. The bland and benignant influences of his friendly converse, of his private and particular affection, are enlisted on the side of their piety—nor can we imagine a position of greater effectiveness than his, whence to bear on the hearts and habits of a surrounding population."*

Anticipating the objection that the ecclesiastical machinery might not be always in effective operation, Dr Chalmers answers it in one of his characteristic illustrations:—"We most readily admit, that ere the machine of an establish-

* See "Uses and Abuses of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments," pp. 120, 121. Dr Chalmers was an intensely practical man, and his only objection to the Evangelical Alliance was that it restricted itself too much to kind words. After his settlement in the Tron Parish, Glasgow, which contained a population of about 12,000 souls, he visited every family within a year. He was accompanied by an elder, who announced the discourse which, in some neighbouring school-room or other convenient place, was to be delivered on an approaching week-day evening for the special benefit of the inhabitants of the district. "Doctor," said an old and pious widow, "you will surely not leave me without offering up a prayer!" But time was precious. "If," said the Doctor, "I were to pray in every house I enter, it would take me ten years to get through the work." Mark the deep humility of the great evangelist and pulpit orator. In going home one evening with Mr Wright, he looked dejected, and said, "I have mistaken the way of my duty to God in at all coming to your city. I am doing no good. God has not blessed, and is not blessing, my ministry here." Mr Wright assured him that he knew one remarkable instance to the contrary. "Can you?" said the Doctor. "Then you give me the best news I have heard since I came among you."

ment do its full good in a country, it must be provided with men who shall work it well. It is not such a machine as supersedes the zeal and activity of Christian labourers; but it is such a machine as, when put into their hands, makes that zeal and activity tenfold more effective. It is no argument for setting it aside, that without the devotedness of human hearts, and the diligence of human hands, it is useless. Enough, that through its intervention, any given amount of such devotedness, and such diligence, is made far more useful. It surely does not nullify the military art, that, for its best devised system of tactics, the courage of human beings is indispensable. And the same holds of spiritual tactics—one system of which may be greatly more efficient than another, although neither should be of any avail, without labour and integrity on the part of clergymen. We hold, that, by means of an endowed church, and a territorial division of the country into parishes, there is secured a greatly fuller and wider dispensation of the lessons of the gospel through the land, than by means of any such arrangement as might come spontaneously forth of all the zeal that exists for the diffusion of Christianity, on the one hand, and of all the desire that exists for the reception of Christianity, on the other. That this zeal should have its ebbs and its alternations, is no better argument for the destruction of our establishment, than is the fluctuating supply, by inundation of water from the Nile, for effacing or filling up those ducts of conveyance which serve for the irrigation of Egypt. Though it is the descent of living water from the upper sanctuary, which transforms the sons of nature into holy and heaven-born men—this does not supersede an earthly tactics, and an earthly mechanism, for the right distribution of it. Should the Nile cease from its overflows, there would no fertilizing influence be conveyed over the land, through the dry and deserted channels by which it was intersected. And should the Spirit of God withdraw the showers of his grace from our nation, we have no such blind confidence in the virtue of frame-works, as to look for a sanctifying influence from the mechanism of pulpits and parishes. Nevertheless, it is good to uphold the sluices, and reservoirs, and aqueducts of Egypt; for when the Nile shall again rise above its banks, that

is the apparatus by which its water shall be most beneficially dispersed over the fields of the territory. And nevertheless, it is good to uphold the churches, and the parsonages, and the livings of our establishment; for when the celestial influence shall again come down upon us, that is the terrestrial apparatus for the most beneficial dispersion of it among the families of our population."*

After quoting this powerful passage, which probably not one in a hundred of my readers has ever seen till now, it may appear presumptuous to add a single word. Dr Chalmers has been in his grave for nearly a quarter of a century,—

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

During his life his parochial system was the theme of meaningless merriment to writers and lecturers, who ridiculed, in jokes possessing as much originality as the Almanac for the year, his territorial districts, as they would have jested at Robert Owen's parallelograms, with his five fundamental facts, and forty principles in his new moral world. The Established Church, they said, was the obstruction in the path of religion, education, morality, philanthropy, social progress, and all blessings possible under the sun. By the Disruption of 1843, that Church was for a time severely crippled. Like Roderick Dhu's warriors concealed in the heather, churches supported on the Voluntary principle sprung up as if by magic. I put it to any Scotsman, not blinded by spleen and sectarianism, whether they have disproved by one jot or tittle the practical wisdom of Dr Chalmers' parochial and territorial system.

In his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," which displays a profound knowledge of the temptations, sorrows, and profligacy to which large masses of human beings congregated within a small space are inevitably exposed, Dr Chalmers displays a singular appreciation of the power of Christianity working in concert with sound political economy.†

* See "Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments," pp. 116, 117, 118.

† Lest I may be reproached for omitting any reference to city missions, I may mention briefly what I know and think of them. So far as they go, they are most commendable. But they only render the same service to the churches which an architect does to the owner or tenant of a house, by exposing a flaw in the founda-

His wisdom has been illustrated by Dr Guthrie in his "Sins and Sorrows of the City," and by the late Dr Vaughan in his "Age of Great Cities." One of the problems which Dr

tion. The directors of the City Missions in Edinburgh and Glasgow are devout, earnest men, struggling with sin and crime. With a territorial church, the work of the city missionaries would be performed by ordained ministers, recognised by the population among whom they would labour; and under them students or lay agents might be very usefully employed. Dr Thomson's congregation in Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, which supports several foreign missionaries, has recently erected, at a large cost, a neat territorial church in the Canongate,—an admission of the value of the territorial system. But few United Presbyterian Churches are privileged to possess such energetic pastors as Dr John Brown, and his colleague and successor Dr Thomson. More than thirty years ago I heard Dr Thomson deliver a Voluntary lecture in Dr Alexander's old chapel, now replaced by the Industrial Museum. He may have forgotten it, but I have not. He hoped the time would never cease when "the village spire would point the way to Heaven." At that time there were no Dissenting spires or bells. I presume he meant that the spired churches should not be endowed. But the doctor was never an impracticable Voluntary, and I have such confidence in his obliging disposition and good feeling, of which I have had pleasant experience, that he will take no offence at my reprinting a report of a conversation in which he took part. I am sure that he must disapprove of "laughter" being mixed up with prayer: it is highly unbecoming. When he delivered his Voluntary speech he was a young man, recently settled in Edinburgh; and the "Edinburgh Evening Post," a rabid Tory journal, since defunct, noticed the lecture of a "person named Thomson, belonging to that rope of sand, the United Secession Church." Dr Thomson is now honourably known, and the "Evening Post" is no more. Dr Thomson has done the State good service in exposing the insidious encroachments of Popery, with which his frequent journeys to the Continent have rendered him personally acquainted. Does he see any insuperable objection to the scheme propounded in this work? He strongly resisted Dr MacEwan's use of an organ. Is he still as resolute in his resistance? He owns his attachment to "party preferences," but disclaims "party prejudices." Is not this something like the distinction between Tweedledum and Tweedledee? Let Dr Thomson, then, apply his energies to the achievement of a real, comprehensive union of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches on the territorial principle, which he has recognised in the Canongate. In a previous note, written in September, 1869, I expressed my belief that the Union question was received with apathy by the members of the United Presbyterian Church, but I did not expect to find my belief confirmed by the chief promoters of the Union. At a meeting of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Edinburgh, December 7th, 1869, the question was introduced by Dr Harper, Joint-Chairman of the Union Committee, who candidly admitting that the enthusiasm which had been formerly maintained in favour of the movement had died away, and that "they ought not to press the subject of Union," ascribed the lukewarmness to unscrupulous persons in the Free Church, who had circulated rumours among the Gaelic Free Churchmen that the United Presbyterians were unsound on the Sabbath question. Dr Thomson remarked that unfounded imputations had been cast upon his denomination in connexion with education. Mr Morton recommended preaching sermons in

Chalmers proposed to solve—and here his strong mathematical genius imparted precision to his philanthropic enterprises—was how to assimilate the moral condition of crowded masses to

favour of Union. Dr Peddie suggested the circulation of "a lively paper" to promote it. Dr Bruce recommended devotional exercises.

Dr THOMSON said he was not in favour of the "lively paper" proposed by Dr Peddie. (Laughter.)

A proposal having been made that Union should form the subject of the devotions at one o'clock at each Presbytery meeting, and at the close of the proceedings,

Mr GEMMELL said—I object to prayer on the subject every day in the midst of our business. It may do more harm than good. (Laughter.)

Dr BRUCE—If it would have the effect of bringing the members out better at the beginning, and keep them till the close, it would have a good effect. (Laughter.)

Dr HARPER said he highly approved of the proposal.

Mr GEMMELL—Does Dr Harper think that that should be done at every meeting of Presbytery? (A laugh.)

Dr HARPER—Yes.

Mr GEMMELL—That will never do. (A laugh.)

Dr PEDDIE—There is never anything lost by prayer.

Mr HINSHELWOOD thought it was important that steps should be taken to inform their congregations as to the subject of Union. The apathy existing in regard to the Union question was excessive——

Dr THOMSON—You mean in Haddington?

Mr HINSHELWOOD—I mean in that district. He expressed a hope that this apathy would soon be broken up, and he thought that an excellent means of doing so would be by adopting the suggestion to distribute the Minutes of the Committee among the congregations.

Mr DUNCAN, S.S.C., thought that one of the best means of promoting a desire for Union on the part of these people was to familiarise them with seeing Free Church ministers in the pulpits, and their own ministers entering Free Church pulpits. He believed that unless something of the kind were done it would be difficult to remove the apathy which existed, not merely in the country, as mentioned by Mr Hinshelwood, but in the town congregations, both in the Free Church and in their own communion.

Mr ROBERT PATERSON, city assessor, said he did not believe that there was such apathy in regard to the question of Union as had been represented. He believed that what was said with reference to Haddington and other places was simply that the people were waiting. The attitude they had taken up was one of waiting; and he thought it was a mistake to send out the word "apathy."

Mr HINSHELWOOD—The word "apathy" simply means the absence of that enthusiasm which we have seen in the Joint-Committee, and which we would like to see awakened among the people. (Marks of disapprobation.)

Mr MARSHALL, East Calder, said that if the report of the Union Committee was to be the basis of Union, he could not agree to it, or go the length that had been proposed. He was quite willing that they should pray for divine guidance in the matter; but that was as far as he could go at present. (See "Edinburgh Courant" and "Daily Review," December 8th, 1869.)

The Union Committee's recommendation of united prayer seems to have found little favour in the Free Presbytery of Strathbogie, which met at Huntly,

that of the rural population, which, in his time set a good example in point of economy, sobriety, and piety. In Kilmany* he had formed a lofty ideal of the duties and responsibilities of a parish minister, and in Glasgow neither the incense of popular applause, nor the labours of authorship, diverted his attention for an instant from the realization of his cherished schemes. His precepts and example were not thrown away. If we wish to find a more recent pattern of a parish minister, we have only to read the life of the late Professor Robertson, when settled in Ellon, Aberdeenshire. As a pastor he was without reproach, expounding the Scriptures lucidly and affectionately, unwearied in visiting the aged, and especially the sick; gathering the young around him on Sunday mornings to explain the Catechism and the evidences; holding diets of examination during the week for his parishioners,—usually in a barn,—children, boys and girls, young men and women, and heads of families being all examined and instructed according to their wants and capacities; and frequently returning to catechise those who had been absent

January 6th, 1870. "After the disposal of some other business, the Assembly's recommendation for united prayer was brought up, when the Rev. Mr Moffat, Cairnie, firmly declined to have anything to do with united prayer, as recommended by the Assembly. The members of Presbytery addressed Mr Moffat, urging him in a most friendly and conciliatory manner to give way, but without effect. At length the Rev. Mr Burnet, Huntly, moved that the subject of union be dropped, as they could not go on with an active dissent around them. This Mr Moffat seconded, and the discussion terminated. The Presbytery sat nearly four hours, greater part of the time being taken up with discussing Mr Moffat's resistance of the Assembly's recommendation." (See "Edinburgh Courant," January 10th, 1870.)

* The decided change in Dr Chalmers's religious character at Kilmany has been faithfully recorded by Dr Hanna. Previously to that change, he was chiefly engrossed in philosophical studies and recreation. In the "Fifeshire Journal," January 27th, 1870, I observe the following paragraph, which Dean Ramsay will doubtless transfer to the next edition of his amusing anecdotes:—"DR CHALMERS AT KILMANY.—The Rev. D. Thomson, of Forgan, writes:—There is an old man residing at Newport who spent his early days in the parish of Kilmany at the time of Dr Chalmers' settlement there. He tells me that he and his folk always attended the ministry of Mr Burn, at Forgan, 'because, ye ken, Mr Chalmers was nae preacher ava, and just toomed Kilmany kirk.' My aged friend adds, 'But he was a grand preacher afore he left us!' This corroborates unintentionally 'the prevailing belief' which Mr Gilfillan thinks it necessary to correct. As also the following:—The old beadle at Balmerino, who loved to welcome, with many others, Dr Chalmers' return to Fife in the days of his fame, is reported to have accosted the great man thus:—'Ye'll be coming to preach to us noo. I've seen the day ye cam' often eneuch, and ane didna think mickle o' ye!'"

at farm-work. Education was not overlooked. An additional parish school was erected by him at Tillydesk, nearly five miles from Ellon. There the minister regularly taught a class on the Sunday afternoon, as well as his own at Ellon in the morning. To help in defraying the heavy cost of the building, he gave a course of summer evening lectures in the church, taking collections at each. But he also attended to material and perishable objects. He prevailed on the Road Trustees to improve the parish roads. Having studied chemistry at College, he appreciated the value of Liebig's discoveries, experimented with superphosphates, and encouraged the farmers to follow his example. "The crops on the glebe" were famous over the district. No wonder that Dr Chalmers, when he spent some days at Ellon Manse, in 1839, found him a congenial spirit, and pronounced him a model minister, declaring that, if all ministers worked liked him, the "Church of Scotland's best days would come."*

* See Charteris' "Life of Dr Robertson." During the progress of the Non-Intrusion controversy, Mr Robertson of Ellon was represented as one of the "cold Aberdeen Moderates," because he did not quite agree with the majority respecting the mode of rejecting ministers, and the vaunted spiritual independence. "Moderate" was a mere nickname. Is not moderation recommended by St Paul? Is it wise to be immoderate? I do not mean to assert the faithfulness of all the Aberdeenshire ministers, and Mr Robertson's example might have shamed many of them. I resided in Aberdeen for three years, from 1848 to 1851. My Whig prepossessions had strongly prejudiced me against the then Earl of Aberdeen, whom I soon ascertained to be universally esteemed as a kind landlord and a sincere Christian. Even Free Churchmen whom he had opposed were loud in his praise; and this estimate is fully warranted in the affecting Life of his son, Lord Haddo, by the Rev. Mr Elliot of Brighton. I am willing to make the same admission respecting the Duke of Buccleuch, against whom I was once strongly prejudiced. If he would but remain passive at political elections, he would be a perfect landlord, and his tenantry are so much attached to him, that if left alone they would rarely thwart him. If his son, the Earl of Dalkeith, had shaken off his native modesty during his late canvass in 1868, and spoken in the county with the same boldness, ability, and humour which I heard him display on the hustings in the face of a mob as fierce as that which assailed Mr Macaulay in 1847, he might have been now member of Parliament for Mid-Lothian. I perceive that the Duke has lately given a free site for a United Presbyterian church in Dalkeith. Some men professing popular principles, who court the populace in public, are sufficiently supercilious in private life. The first Earl of Durham, the son of a rich coal owner, and an able but pragmatic Radical, was the proudest man in England, and made himself ridiculous in the eyes of those Peers whose titles dated from the days [illegible]dors and the Plantagenets. For my own part, I have little respect for a [illegible]ry candidate who comes to the hustings pledging himself to vote with

If there is any city in which learning and religion should flourish, in whose streets the streams of righteousness should run down, and in which they should be released from the calamities engendered by ignorance, sin, and misery, that city is Edinburgh. When Mr Macaulay first presented himself before her electors in the Assembly Rooms in 1839, I heard him style her the most beautiful of British cities. She is the pride of Britain, and the glory of Scotland. The royal psalmist might have described her as "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, Mount Zion, as the sides of the north, the city of the great King." Her situation is romantic and picturesque; her architecture is graceful and beautiful; her pensive and stately streets are frequented by persons of gentle blood, and refined manners, and polite accomplishments. She boasts of a University with a larger faculty than any of her Scottish rivals; her public and private schools attract pupils from the provinces, and most of the British colonies; her educational hospitals are more wealthy and numerous than those of any British city; the children of her artisans are educated gratuitously, or at a nominal cost; handsome churches, with their spires pointing to heaven, are scattered in all directions, and countless bells summon the citizens every seventh day to repent and believe. The supreme legal tribunals, civil and criminal, administer law and justice, acting as a terror to evil-doers, and protecting, if not praising, all that do well. Foreigners repair to this city so rich in legend, antiquities, and historical associations; and unless they by some mischance stumble on her noisome dens, they return to tell their wondering countrymen of the marvels of her Christian civilisation. But as there are two parties in a lawsuit, so there are two sides of a picture. The poet Rogers, in his "Ginevra," bids the visitor to Modena stop at a palace near the Reggio Gate, and gaze on a melancholy picture which he had seen there. Visitors at the

Mr Gladstone or with Mr Disraeli, without being able to assign reasons for his votes. At the first election after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, Dr Wardlaw voted for Mr Ewing, a Conservative, because he believed him to be a man of talents and integrity. Parliament ought to represent the intelligence, moral worth, industry, and property of the nation, so that its enactments may commend themselves to the approval of rational and virtuous men.

ancient castle of Glammis, near Forfar, the seat of the Earls of Strathmore, will see a striking picture of Claverhouse. Examined from one side, his countenance seems gentle, merciful, almost feminine; from another, his real character is painfully impressive: his expression is stern, cruel, and implacable. "Scratch a Russian," said Napoleon, "and you will find a Tartar." Our city is infested, not with Tartars, but with young Arabs, who infest our streets. I have formerly quoted the testimony of Bailie Lewis regarding the degraded condition of a large portion of the city of Edinburgh. With all her privileges, nearly a third part of the inhabitants never attend public worship. I ask my readers to ponder carefully the following statement of a magistrate long known in Edinburgh for his boldness and courage, as well as for his ability and active benevolence. At a meeting, at which the Lord Provost presided, held in Edinburgh on the 14th of January, 1870, for the important purpose of improving the census of 1871 :— "Mr THOMAS KNOX* said there could be no doubt that the death-rate of Edinburgh was startlingly high; and it was equally certain that the death-rate of a community would be in exact proportion to the density, the misery, and the poverty of the population. As to Dr Littlejohn's statistics, he might be allowed to say that he had perfect faith in Dr Littlejohn as a public officer, and in his anxiety for the public good, and he was satisfied that if any suggestions were made to him, any amendments or modifications as to the method of submitting the statistics as applicable to the New Town or the suburban districts, he would most readily receive and consider it, not only in a professional point of view, but as a citizen of Edinburgh.

* I do not know Mr Knox personally, but a common friend informs me that his inspection of Edinburgh has disclosed the most abominable immorality. Mr Knox is a zealous but not intolerant member of the Total Abstinence Society, and a United Presbyterian. However, judging from his spirited letters in the "Scotsman," he is a man of catholic spirit and sympathies, and impatient of speculative discussions in Churches. Dr John Brown, shortly before his death, was seated in the shop of Messrs Oliphant & Sons, his publishers, South Bridge, Edinburgh. A pert young minister entered and said, "Well, Doctor, any controversies at the approaching Synod?" "I am not aware of any," answered the Doctor quietly. "Is there not to be an organ controversy?" inquired the young man, who had been one of his students. The Doctor firmly replied, "Satan loves controversies among Christians. It may be an organ controversy or an Atonement controversy; it's all the same to him."

With regard to the census, what was wanted was social statistics, that they might be enabled to get at the actual condition of this great community. They were subjects of the Empire, but they were a family circle in Edinburgh, and must discharge their duty to Edinburgh *qua* Edinburgh. They must find out how many human beings were living in those houses of single rooms—some with windows, some without, some with chimneys, some without, down to those cursed cellars where no man would allow the meanest beast to live if he owned it. They must do more than that—they must find out why it was that at that moment between 700 and 800 children were being fed across the street who were living in a state of absolute starvation. With scarcely an exception they had not an article upon their backs which, were it taken off, would not be put in the dust-cart. They must go into this question, and find the number of widows in Edinburgh who lived in houses below £10 rent, and the number who lived in houses with a rental below £5. He believed if they got a return of that kind they would have an explanation of two things—of the tremendous amount of pauperism, and misery, and crime, and of the destitution which was to be seen everywhere around. A widow* who paid a rent of less than £5 was generally a poor creature, with three, six, and sometimes nine children.† She was obliged to go out to earn something, and so she tied up the door in some way to prevent children from setting themselves on fire. They were

* Has any of my readers ever seen a sober, robust, skilful mason or slater, who had fallen from a giddy height, carried home by his fellows on a stretcher, and laid down a lifeless corpse in presence of his heart-broken wife? Has he ever marked the silent awe of the children on coming home from school to learn that their mother is a widow, without money in the house to bury her husband and pay for mourning attire? Her neighbours will probably aid her as they best can. The Poor Law Inspector may afford some surly pittance. A Christian Church, caring for the widow and the orphan, will be their best earthly helper. Is the poor widow always fit to teach religion to her orphans?

† Many of the poor, footsore, over-worked, underpaid, and sometimes ill-treated message boys in retail shops in Edinburgh, and more frequently in Glasgow, are the sons of widows. Are any of my readers residing in the West End Terraces of Glasgow aware that some of the boys who deliver parcels at their doors near midnight, on Saturdays, have to retrace their weary journey to the Gallowgate, or to some distant quarter of their vast city? Their wages average half-a-crown or three shillings weekly. How much of this is spent on shoe leather? I have often talked with such boys, and learned from their own lips the story of their parentage. What becomes of their religious instruction on Sundays?

sent out into the gutter, where they swarmed like ducks or rats. They lay down at night in their filthy clothes, and in the morning they were never cleaned, and a death rate, a pauper rate, and a crime rate such as we had was inevitable. There was no mystery about these things. They were cause and effect, and would be cause and effect with ever-increasing aggravation and arrears until as men, as Christians, as citizens, as Scotchmen, the people faced it in earnest, and saw what they could do to sweep this scandal and disgrace from the city. With the view of effecting this object, he thought it was all-important to obtain complete social statistics."*

Dr Begg was also a speaker at the meeting. His statements may not gratify the self-esteem of some Scotsmen, who set a higher value on the agitation for ecclesiastical crotchets than on the welfare of starving widows and orphans; but I ask even them to reflect on his disclosures. Dr Begg said—"It might be known to some present that before last census a few gentlemen—but who had not the support of the civic authorities—made an effort to get something done in the way of improving the census. They were of opinion that merely to get the number of the population was a small object considering the expense incurred. There were other ways in which that might be ascertained without such expense. Their idea was that it would be of great benefit in connection with the discussions upon social questions to get reliable information in regard to the state of the population. Accordingly, they went to London, and made application to Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, who was then Home Secretary, and, after considerable effort, they succeeded in getting one additional column into the census table, to the effect of indicating the number of rooms in every house in Scotland, and whether, if there was only one room in the house, the house had a window or not. In reference to what Mr Thomson had said as to individual schedules, he hoped it would be kept in view that it was of great importance to have the returns made in such a way that they could group families, that they could know how many individuals resided in one house, and how many rooms

* See "Scotsman," Jan. 15th, 1870.

that house contained. The result of the inquiry made was a very startling one, and he believed it laid the foundation of the progress that had since been made in social efforts throughout the kingdom. It turned out that in Scotland there were 7964 houses, so called, that had no window, and that there were 226,723 houses of only one room; that was to say, that about a million and a-quarter of the whole population of Scotland were living in so-called houses that had only one room,* while 246,000 houses had only two rooms. The deputation to which he referred succeeded in getting that return, but to a considerable extent they were unsuccessful. They had not the advantage of beginning in time, as had been done now. They did not succeed in getting a similar return for England and Ireland, nor in persuading Government that it was worth while to employ a reasonable number of clerks to tabulate the returns with regard to Scotland; they merely attained that result with regard to Edinburgh and Glasgow. It would be of immense importance to get similar returns with regard to the three kingdoms, and to get them tabulated, so that we might know the kind of houses in which the people lived, not only in cities, but in the rural districts. He should like to know the number of bothies, for example, in Scotland. At the same time, they must not aim at too much, because if they did so they would run the risk of losing their object altogether. Government, of course, would look at the expense, and therefore they must aim at getting what was of vital importance. In the result of which he had spoken would undoubtedly be found the solution of the

* Supposing the children in the houses with no windows, or with one room, to be attending school, which is not very likely, how can it be supposed that their parents can give them religious instruction, or instruction of any kind? Do the educated gentlemen, who speak and write in favour of secular education, supplement it by religious teaching at night? If they are journalists, I can answer that they do not. They are busied with telegrams, letters, blue books, and leading articles. I have closely examined the dwellings in the old town of Edinburgh. They are so filthy and revolting, that I can hardly trust myself in stigmatising them in fitting terms. Every physiologist knows that such beastly slums exert an irresistible influence in debasing the moral feeling of the inmates. Decency is out of the question. Some of the new houses in Edinburgh built for the poorer classes are little better, being as dark as Erebus. Ought not the sun to shine equally on the just and the unjust? Thus the poor man is driven to taverns, where the artificial glare and the seductive dram render him forgetful of his wife and children. Meanwhile, sectarianism is holding its high and costly festival.

problem of which his Lordship had spoken, and which had called forth Mr Thomson's pamphlet. The fact in regard to Birmingham was this, that the working people of that city had spent millions of money in extending their town, and most of them lived in comfortable two or three roomed houses. If returns such as he had spoken of were got from all the towns in the United Kingdom, the difference between Birmingham and Edinburgh would come out with mathematical accuracy. By the census they could not get specific information about the relative mortality of the different districts of Edinburgh; but that might be got from quarter to quarter or from month to month, if the registrar would, instead of giving the aggregate result for the whole city, give the result for the different wards, or even if the New Town or the Old were given separately. When Dr Gairdner [now Professor Gairdner, of Glasgow University] was in this city, he got this detailed return, which it would be desirable to have periodically, and he found that while the mortality in Edinburgh in the closes in the High Street, the Potterrow, and the more densely-populated districts rose as high as 33 in the 1000, in the New Town of Edinburgh the mortality was scarcely greater than in the rural districts. The mortality should never be greater than 15 in the 1000; if it rose above that proportion they might as well take out the people and shoot them—they were being murdered by causes that were perfectly removable. They would find, he believed, in connection even with our civic improvements, although he reckoned them a great step in advance, that, probably, as had occurred in Glasgow, inasmuch as there was no provision for the class of persons who were excluded from some places where these improvements had been made, other places would be made more pestilential, for Glasgow had become more pestilential than it had been previous to these operations. If they could get the census taken in such a way as to bring out the facts as to house accommodation over the United Kingdom, an immense step would be made in advance. They would then be able to ascertain the cause of the death-rate; for if there was a fact established in social science, it was this—that disease and death were in proportion to the density of the population. Give him the number of people that resided on a square acre of

ground, and he would tell nearly what the mortality would be. Of course, there were other circumstances that went to affect the result, but none affected it so much as the density of the population. He believed they would not only find out the cause of the high death-rate if they succeeded in getting this return over the three kingdoms thoroughly tabulated, but what would be a very important result, every ten years they would be able to compare the progress or retrogression of the population. They would see whether the population was improving or falling off, whether the houses were better or worse at the end of every decennial period. He would therefore suggest that one special object this committee should direct its attention to should be, to get one or more columns in the census tables for the three kingdoms, indicating the number of rooms in every house, the number of persons in every family, and if there was only one room in a house, whether it had a window or not."*

I gladly rescue from oblivion the well-timed counsels of a great orator and agitator who is now a responsible Minister of State, and has frankly conceded that mere legislative changes cannot do for the people what they must do for themselves. "I believe that an alteration of the land laws of England, such as might be made without lessening by sixpence the value of any man's property, would do much to arrest the tide of pauperism which is constantly flowing from the agricultural counties into our centres of industry.† But when I have mentioned all these things, I am obliged to confess that they are not all—that something more is wanted. Although the law will not effect it, and although its foundation lies beyond the bounds of law, it is a fact which every man should consider, and I have considered it often and often with great solemnity, and even with much pain during the thirty years that I have

* Dr Begg has been faithful to Dr Chalmers' teaching in matters of Christian Civic Economy, and I ought to add that he was a zealous Anti-Patronage man long before the Disruption, when Dr Candlish and Dr Robert Buchanan clung to the Veto Act. Does Dr Begg still cling to "spiritual independence?" Is he more beholden to the present majority in the Free Church Courts than the Church of Scotland was to the Civil Courts when he was one of her ministers?

† In England, as in Scotland, the population is flocking into the towns. Emigration is the natural remedy for superfluous labour, but poor people love their native soil, though they owe little to it except their birth.

been in the habit of discussing public questions—it is a fact that no government, that no administration, that no laws, that no amount of industry or of commerce, that no extent of freedom, can give prosperity and solid comforts to the homes of the people, unless there be in those homes economy, temperance, and the practice of virtue. This which I am preaching is needful for all; but it is specially needful, most needful in some respects, for those whose possessions are the least abundant and the least secure. If we could subtract from the ignorance, the poverty, the suffering, the sickness, and the crime which are now witnessed amongst us—the ignorance, the poverty, the sickness, and the crime which are caused by one single but most prevalent bad habit or vice—the drinking needlessly of that which destroys body and mind, and home, and family—do we not all feel that this country would be so changed, and so changed for the better, that it would be almost impossible for us to know it again? Let me, then, in conclusion, say what is upon my heart to say, what I know to be true, what I have felt every hour of my life when I have been discussing great questions affecting the condition of the working classes—let me say this to all people, that it is by the combination of a wise government and a virtuous people, and not otherwise, that we may hope to make some step towards that blessed time when there shall be no longer complaining in our streets; when our garners shall be full, affording all manner of store."*

There are many persons who, though utterly indifferent to the merits of rival creeds, and avowing their contempt for the evangelistic operations of churches, manifest a lively interest in social reform and the reduction of taxation. To such persons, as well as to all Christian philanthropists, the gigantic growth of pauperism and its costly maintenance have been the cause of dissatisfaction and alarm. Many individuals now living remember the time when there were no Parochial Boards, no parochial Inspectors, no Poor-Law Unions, no Poor-Law Magazines, no expensive litigations to decide the law of settlement. The change for the worse is mainly attributable to our ecclesiastical dissensions. In proof of this averment I will not

* See Mr Bright's speech at Birmingham, Jan. 11th, 1870.

indulge in reckless assertions, or in dismal lamentations; but appeal to dates, facts, and figures. Previously to 1845, there was virtually no Poor-Law Assessment in the immense majority of Scottish parishes. Were there no poor? This cannot be affirmed. There were poor; and, if we trust Holy Scripture, the poor, the widow, and the orphan will never cease from the earth. Before the passing of the Poor Law, the church-door collections were devoted to the relief of such poor and deserving persons as were known by the Minister and Church Session to be deserving of alms. Aid was also afforded by their own relatives, who, out of their poverty, would rather stint themselves of the necessaries of life than allow any of their starving kith and kin to apply for parish relief. Christian philanthropists sought out and succoured the poor and needy. The rich who had been filled with good things did not send the poor empty away.* That the poor were, in every instance, adequately maintained it would be rash to assert, yet they were in a better state than in our day. After the Disruption, came the Scottish Poor-Law of 1845†—a measure opposed by nearly all the

* I resided for more than a year in Darlington, which may be termed the English capital of the Society of Friends, where the opulent Peases and Backhouses are the ruling families. There, and elsewhere, the Society supports its poor,—an example worthy of imitation among all churches. But what is to be done with the poor who belong to no church,—the outcasts and offscourings of the earth? I verily believe that if there were a hearty union of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, this class would be vastly diminished, simply because the morality of Scotland would be greatly improved, and economical habits would be surely formed. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, I always found a quiet, intelligent, and philanthropic class of people, somewhat shy, cautious, and inquisitive, yet, in the main, kind and beneficent. They have been always zealous promoters of popular education, and I heard the late worthy Mr Joseph Pease, M.P., the first Quaker who enjoyed Parliamentary honours, examine a Bible class in the British School: he laid great stress on the Ten Commandments. The Quakers are now dropping their peculiar garb, which had become unsightly, especially among females. The use of the second person singular of the pronoun is also on the decline, and Quakerism seems destined to be merged in the Evangelical Churches or in rationalism. Jews, like Quakers, support their own poor.

† The Poor-Law Act was mainly attributable to the pleadings of the late Dr William Pulteney Alison, one of the most humane and self-denying Physicians that Edinburgh ever saw. He had proved that fever often followed in the wake of poverty; hence the general consent to receive the Act of 1845. May I be allowed to pass my tribute of respect, or veneration, to Dr W. P. Alison? He was the son of the Rev. Archibald Alison, author of the celebrated "Essay on Taste," and the brother of Sir Archibald Alison, the historian. I often saw his carriage standing

Scottish members, but forced through Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, backed by a majority of a hundred in the House of Commons. Dr Chalmers, whose herculean efforts to extinguish pauperism in Glasgow had immortalized him as a practical philanthropist, foresaw and foretold the dismal consequences; but it is questionable if he realised them in their portentous magnitude. At length the clamours of the defenceless ratepayers could be no longer silenced, and a competent exponent was found in Mr Craufurd, M.P. for the Ayr burghs. In moving for a committee,* which was reluctantly granted by the Government, on March 2nd, 1869, Mr Craufurd concisely and forcibly sketched the history of the Poor-Law. In 1845, the rates amounted to £295,000; in 1868 to £863,000! Referring to his own parish, with a population of 2100, Mr Craufurd mentioned that in 1840 there were only 40 poor persons costing between £200 and £300 a-year, but each of whom received three and four shillings weekly; whereas in 1847, with a diminished population, the paupers had doubled in number, and cost £700 a-year, the average allowance to each being only a shilling or eighteenpence. Proceeding to point out the pernicious results of the Law in social respects, he remarked that it had buttoned up the pockets of charity, raised a determined war between the rich and the poor, pauperised the country, and sundered the relations of charity

at the entrance of some dingy, disreputable close in the Canongate, while he was burrowing among the dens of disease, tendering medical advice and sympathy, and paying for the requisite medicines! Dr Chalmers, himself a humane man, called Dr Alison a "lump of human sympathy." Dr Chalmers himself was not always true to his theory of refusing to aid street beggars. He was occasionally seen to slip a coin into the hand of a mendicant, when he thought nobody saw him! When I passed Dr Alison's house in Heriot Row in the afternoon, I often saw him standing on the steps giving advice to poor patients who had been repulsed by his footman. A similar group might be seen at the door of Dr Guthrie's house, 7 Argyle Square, now tenantless. This Square will soon rank among the things that were. Brown Square, adjoining, contains an old house, once the residence of Lord Glenlee, a learned Scottish judge. It was afterwards occupied by Dr W. L. Alexander, and it is now the lithographic printing office of Mr Bartholomew, the engraver of the diagram of Secessions in this work.

* The Committee which worked so hard, and examined so many witnesses, consisted of Mr Craufurd, Sir R. Anstruther, Sir D. Wedderburn, Sir G. Montgomery, Mr Miller, Mr Anderson, Mr Parker, Mr Orr Ewing, Mr Maclagan, Mr Armitstead, Major Hamilton, and Mr Cameron.

and affection, without which the social fabric could not be upheld. The costs of the Poor-Law machinery had risen in even a higher proportion. In 1845, they were £17,000; in 1868 they had risen to £94,000! The salaries of some Inspectors who had been glad at one time to receive £150, had been raised to £600! The ratepayers are landowners and householders, while rich money lenders, holding mortgages on estates, do not pay one farthing; and the wages of honest toil are often expended in supporting indolence and profligacy. Now, a return to something like the old system might greatly improve, if not altogether abrogate, this cumbrous and expensive machinery.* But when so keen a rivalry is excited, and so much money is spent in erecting superfluous churches, and in maintaining weak congregations, the remedy is hopeless. The really poor may starve, paupers may abound, rates may rise in some cases to 3s. per pound; but, with many persons, the passion for sectarian ascendancy is a passion too dear to be sacrificed to the achievement of a great national blessing, and the removal of a huge national blot. The lavish expenditure which has been absorbed by official machinery in Edinburgh, while the rightful recipients of the rates have been allowed to starve, has recently been exposed by Mr M'Laren, M.P., with his usual vigour and mastery of details at a meeting of his constituents in the Music Hall. Mr M'Laren said—"Now the Board of Supervision, as it is called, was first appointed, not as a permanent board at all, but as a temporary Board, on the recommendation of an important Royal Commission. The reason given at the time was that the poor were alleged to be starving. So they were in many cases; but since the establishment of the board the Poor-Law expenditure has increased more than threefold, and is increasing at such a rate that we are threatened to be eaten up in consequence. We find that that Board requires the erection of great houses, costing large sums of money, all over Scotland.† These are called test-

* See an interesting account of the support of the poor at Elberfield, Prussia, in "Good Words" for 1860, p. 6; and supplementary note, p. 256. Also, "Up the Rhine in Winter," "Good Words," 1863, p. 402.

† I resided in England between 1843 and 1848, and between 1864 and 1868. On my return to Scotland in 1848, I was surprised to see the large buildings termed "Combination houses" along the railway lines, reminding me of the

houses, to be employed as a test of paupers, with the view of relieving the rates. But so far from operating as a means of diminishing the expenditure, they have been the means of largely increasing it, because you have to pay for those houses far more than anything that the paupers would have got who may be prevented from getting relief by the operation of the test. And this expenditure is going on to an enormous extent. Now, I don't mean to say that there is anybody connected with the Board who is not a good man, and fit for the office which he holds; but I say the offices should not be held at all. The Board should be utterly abolished as no longer wanted. As to the expenditure for keeping up the Board in Edinburgh, there are seventeen men in the office—chairman, secretaries, clerks, general superintendents—that get £5305 among them. Then there are three sheriffs, who get £450. There are travelling expenses, £1250; and there is a very curious item in the accounts, a large sum for what is called 'rates, taxes.' I take the Parliamentary documents that have been given to me as your member, containing the Civil Service estimates for the last year, and I find this extraordinary item of 'rates and taxes, etc.,' set down at £881. Now, you know the office is just an ordinary house in George Street. One does not know what the 'etc.' may cover,* but the house must be sadly taxed

English unions with their repulsive Bumbledom. In 1866, I was still more surprised to see in Oban a large and costly erection of this sort, and I pitied the poor Highlanders who were sundered from home and kindred to live and die within its dreary walls.

* See "Scotsman," December 14th, 1869. Mr M'Laren exposed the enormous cost of other Edinburgh boards. "The Lunacy Board costs annually £6166: the Fishery Board, £6827—established for the sole purpose of teaching men, who knows far better than it does, how to catch and cure herrings. Then the Board of Manufactures cost £2100 a-year. This was an old grant made at the time of the Union. Scotland was then as little a manufacturing country as Ireland now is. I can remember when prizes were advertised for cloth and all that, and I have seen the prizes given. But Scotland has now outgrown all that dry-nursing, and does not need any such support; and a very proper arrangement was made to get the grant applied for the purposes of the National Gallery, and other similar institutions. Well, the salaries of the National Gallery are £1142, and the grant to the Society of Antiquaries £300; that makes £1442 out of £2100, leaving £658. Now, remember, these salaries will be paid directly by the Exchequer, and will not give any trouble to any secretary or resident man here. But there is a secretary here who gets £300 a-year, and all the rest of the balance is only £358, so that

if its rates and taxes are anything like £881." Shortly after Mr Maclaren had expressed his opinion, Lord Kinnaird, a much respected Whig Scottish Peer, made a curious revelation:—"I am able to give you the history of the Lunacy Board, as I endeavoured, but in vain, to stop the Board being made permanent. Mr E. Ellice some years since brought under the notice of Parliament, in a very forcible manner, the state of the lunatics in Scotland, and the want of proper provision for their detention and maintenance. A Royal Commission was appointed, and, with the aid of the county police and Poor-Law Board, a report was framed and presented to Parliament, and a bill founded thereon passed, appointing the Commissioners as a Board to exist for five years to carry out its provisions. Before the expiry of this time an attempt was made more than once to make the Board permanent. I succeeded in stopping it for one session at least, representing to Mr Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the absurdity and extravagance of maintaining such a Board merely to superintend a few asylums and those pauper lunatics allowed to be at large, at a cost (as the returns showed) of from £4000 to

practically he gets £300 a-year, for seeing to the proper expenditure of £358. And this same gentleman is secretary to the Fishery Board, from which he gets £524 additional. Then, in connection with the registration of births and deaths—a new office created within a few years—there is a swarm of people receiving large salaries, the total sum being £7608. Then there is a Bible Board. I daresay many of you never heard of it, but the secretary gets £600 a-year, and the law-agent £240 a-year, and there are law charges and stamps £100 a-year—making together £940. I think we have come to the time of day when we may trust respectable printers to publish true copies of the Bible without any Bible Board to supervise them. As to the law agent, I will mention this one thing, that he has not the good fortune to have a law plea to conduct, although he gets £240 a-year for doing it. Now, if any of you were to have a lawsuit, you would think anybody you employed very well off if paid for what he did; you would not think of giving him £240 a-year as a retainer to wait till you got a lawsuit. As far as the sheriffs are concerned, my opinion is that many of the sheriff-substitutes get too little. I think that the number should be greatly diminished; that each sheriff-substitute should have a larger area; that the two classes of sheriffs should be amalgamated, and that we should have regular County Court Judges who would hold district courts for the transaction of business, going from one town to another, one week here and another week there, and that they should be to a large extent handsomely paid." I strongly suspect that some of the persons who grudge the £2000 annually to the Queen's Commissioner at the General Assembly, have never raised their voice against these costly boards.

£5000 per annum. Sir George Grey, then at the Home Office, promised me not to fill up the vacant offices of Sub-Commissioners. Certain Edinburgh influences, however, prevailed.* Situations must be found for poor relations. The offices were filled up, and the Commissioners succeeded in getting their appointments made permanent. If you examine Sir John M'Neill, he will tell you that the Poor-Law Board could do all the work with a small addition to their staff—indeed, the Lunacy Board cannot make work for themselves, even by their members travelling about ordering a pair of shoes here and under-garments there for some few pauper lunatics not in the Poorhouses, but under the charge of the local parochial board. You will be told that the members of the Lunacy Board

* Sir J. Don Wauchope, the chairman of the Lunacy Board, lost no time in resenting Lord Kinnaird's letter. In the "Scotsman," January 27th, 1870, he characterised Lord Kinnaird's communication as "an impertinence to the late Lord Advocate [Moncreiff], and as a calumny on the Board." This is strong language for a Whig baronet to apply to a Whig peer, who in the "Scotsman," January 28th, calmly intimates that "there will be an opportunity offered before Parliament of letting the country judge whether the delicate and important duty in which Sir J. Don Wauchope says the Board is engaged is worth the large sum of £6,200 per annum." Whatever may be the merits of the case, the peer has a manifest advantage over the baronet in point of temper. The allusion to Mr Moncreiff suggests the name of one who was his predecessor as Lord Justice-Clerk—the late Mr George Patton—a peculiarly sensitive and honourable man. If his connection with the corrupt town of Bridgewater led to the unhappy act which ended his life, he could hardly have been aware that there is at least one eminent judge on the English bench who was repeatedly unseated for bribery, and that Sir Samuel Romilly, a keen Whig and a man of stainless reputation, paid £3,000 for the representation of Wareham, after being unseated for Horsham. Was not one of the Leathams, a brother-in-law of Mr John Bright, unseated for the same reason? Was he not threatened with a prosecution by Sir Richard Bethell, then Attorney-General, who, as Lord Chancellor Westbury, was compelled to resign his high office for his nepotism, in which, by the way, he was defended by Mr Moncreiff in the House of Commons? On one of the days that Mr Patton represented Bridgewater in 1866, I saw him walking down Parliament Street with another member, and politely asked Mr Patton for an order. He expressed surprise at being recognised, when I explained that I had often heard him plead in the Parliament House. He requested me to accompany him to the office, and kindly wrote the order. His friend, apparently a country gentleman, inquired particularly regarding the state of the crops in Scotland—a very natural and patriotic question. Later on that day, Mr Robert Lowe made a narrow escape from the clutches of the crowd, which was indignant on account of his fierce opposition to Earl Russell's Reform Bill, and of his vituperation of the artisans. Mr Macaulay's kindness in giving orders I gratefully record; he would even write to me recommending the night when a good debate would come off.

have a vested interest. But why should there be any difference between 'big fish' and 'small fry'—the Commissioners or Admiralty clerks? The former have had a rich harvest for some years for doing nothing; and there would be no injustice in naming a period at which the Board of Lunacy should cease and determine."*

One of the largest employers in the West of Scotland has expressed his views on this subject as follows:—"The Poor Law Bill of 1845 was needed in some districts, where the the authorities having charge of the poor could not cope with their task, on account of the increase of population, which had outgrown the resources of the territorial Church system. Whilst the number of paupers has vastly increased, and the rates have risen proportionally, the condition of the deserving poor has not been improved, and the habits of the labouring population have been demoralised. In the working of the Act it has been necessary to dispose of all cases on the same scale, so that practically the deserving poor and the profligate poor have the same claim, and receive the same consideration. Soon after the passing of the Act, there grew up among a large class a feeling that it gave them rights, and that by management they could exhibit their cases in such a light as to enable them to extract money. Parochial administrators of relief have thus been put on the defensive, and have been driven to resist, as they best can, the demands made upon them. The ratepayers also complain of the cost, and by intensifying the contest between the Board and the claimants, a host of people, who in former times would never have applied for relief, obtain money and use it, not for the relief of themselves and families, so that the Act aggravates the misery and profligacy in which they exist, and extends by contagion the area afflicted with the alarming evil. The great and increasing

* See Lord Kinnaird's letter to the Earl of Camperdown, in "Scotsman," January 24th, 1870. The Earl of Camperdown and Sir William Clerk have been appointed by the Government to examine and report on the constitution and operation of the Edinburgh Boards. I am not in a position to say whether the Boards are defensible, but investigation can do no harm. After my exposure of Mr Lingen's mode of correspondence in the Privy Council Office of Education in London, I cannot be supposed to be hostile to Edinburgh Boards, if they are required, and perform their work efficiently, which is the question at issue.

burden of the poor-rates and the very unsatisfactory condition of the population urge the country to the consideration and the adoption of some system under the working of which existing evils may be remedied. Attempts have been made to establish plans for giving voluntary aid to the poor. Any progress made in these attempts has only exhibited more plainly the vice and misery that might be modified and reduced. The good results that might be accomplished are sadly retarded by dissensions among Churches, which impede the development of such a system; for though on such occasions there has been much profession of the wish and the intention to sink Church dissensions, still any real efforts in this direction have been isolated ones, and those putting them forth are so few as not to weigh in the scale against those practically holding aloof. While Church dissensions continue, there is apparently but slender hope of establishing a general system for benefiting the deserving poor. There cannot be conceived a greater privilege or benefit to the members of a congregation than the actively caring for and assisting the deserving poor. There are many instances in which this is done to some little extent, but it is not territorially conducted. The cause of religion would be materially promoted by the rich and poor becoming mutually acquainted, and the sympathy thus excited would act powerfully in promoting social improvement.

"The Act of 1845 acts in the contrary direction. The largeness of the sums levied under the Act suggests to the ratepayers that more than enough is being already given, and represses the inclination to give voluntarily. The seeing the wrong use to which so much of the money is put is irritating. The Act professes to provide for all poor, and by doing so leads to the superseding of voluntary effort, and Boards often refuse assistance to poor persons thus provided for, making it a reason for refusing otherwise legal claims. Another evil influence of the Act is, that it discourages permanent friendly societies. Owing to the working of the Act, the societies are now in a great measure yearly societies, at least among those not far removed from the dangers of poverty. The Act operates against the adoption and success of volun-

tary effort by giving out-door relief, so that demoralisation is engendered by this, and by the scrambling for such share of the money raised as ingenuity can suggest. Might not the law be altered so that it should be illegal to give relief except in poorhouses? Might not this remove the objection now raised to the legal, compulsory assessment being raised on a broad area? Might not the new law be so framed that a voluntary assessment should be made, but not to be recoverable from any one who should object, as in the case of Church-rates in England? In the event of a union of Churches, Scotland might be mapped out into a number of parishes, sufficient to provide for the religious instruction of the people, the parishes being of such extent and population as to enable the minister, with the aid of the proper functionaries, to possess a competent knowledge of the wants of the deserving poor, among his other duties. The blessing thus conferred on the givers, the dispensers, and the receivers of such alms, and the service rendered to practical religion and social improvement, are too great to be estimated. By this means there would be two classes of poor—one provided for by loving, voluntary gifts, the other by legal, compulsory assessment. Much money now squandered would be ultimately saved; the poor would be better provided for, and the old, independent, Scottish feeling might be expected to spring up and flourish."*

* Mr Disraeli has, in his "Sybil or the Two Nations," depicted with much force and eloquence the wide gulf yawning in England between the rich and the poor. "Two nations: the one—the rich, the consumer, the lords of the soil; the other—the poor, the toiler, the tiller of the soil, and the begrimed and democratic artizan." Both in England and Scotland there are thousands of rich men not making much religious profession, who are always ready to provide a parish minister with funds for the relief of the poor, and to make the minister their almoner. Such is the privilege of a parish minister, who does not depend on his congregation solely for his maintenance, and who sympathises with the weak, the sick, and the aged. If a national Church neglects the poor, it must be sadly at fault. Mr Disraeli's descent, education, personal history, and political success are so unprecedented that a brief sketch may be acceptable to those who have not access to one of the sources whence I extract it—his biography of his father, prefixed to the new edition of his "Curiosities of Literature." His Hebrew forefathers were driven from Spain by the Inquisition at the end of the 15th century, and fled to the more tolerant territory of Venice, where they dropped their Gothic surname. Grateful to the God of Jacob, who had protected them amid trials and dangers, they assumed the name of "D'Israeli," never borne before or since by any Jewish family. In 1648, a Benjamin Disraeli became a denizen of England, and having in

the prime of life realised a fortune by merchandise, he settled near Enfield, in Middlesex, where he formed an Italian garden, entertained his friends, and played at whist with Sir Horace Mann, who had known his brother as a Venetian banker. He is described as a sanguine, courageous, speculative, and fortunate man, full of resources, with a temper which no discipline could disturb. In 1765, he married a very beautiful Jewess, who had a strong dislike to his name and her own race: he died in 1817, nearly ninety years of age. Their only child was Isaac Disraeli, born in 1766, who was an enigma to his father, and disappointed him by preferring a literary to a mercantile life. When a young man he won the favourable regard of Sir Walter Scott, became a regular frequenter of the British Museum Library, and a writer of literary and political history. He also amassed a magnificent library at his Manor of Bradenham, in Buckinghamshire. He died in 1848, at the age of eighty-two: during his last years a paralysis of the optic nerve brought on blindness, but he retained his serenity of mind and habits of study, with the aid of his daughter, who died several years ago. His own characteristics, and those of his father, seem to have been inherited by his own son Benjamin, born in 1805, whom he lived to see a popular author and leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. Before the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, Benjamin Disraeli was known in London as Disraeli the Younger, and as a clever novelist, who had travelled far in the East, and come home laden with many romantic and visionary fancies. After abortive attempts to be returned to Parliament for Wycombe and Marylebone, he stood for Taunton, when he was involved in a quarrel with Mr O'Connell, to whom he wrote—"We shall meet at Philippi, when you shall remember and repent the insults you have lavished upon Benjamin Disraeli." In 1837, he obtained a seat for Maidstone. His first speech in the House was received unfavourably, and in sitting down he remarked, "I will sit down, but the time will come when you will hear me." From 1841 to 1847 he sat for Shrewsbury, and during that period he acquired great celebrity by his fierce invectives against the late Sir Robert Peel, who had deserted the Tory party on the Corn Law question. He had discovered in that astute and plausible statesman's character a vulnerable point, unknown to Canning, Brougham, and Lord John Russell—extreme irritability under ridicule—which he assailed with no sparing hand. It was during that period that I first heard Mr Disraeli speak. He was wont to say that when his Shrewsbury constituents were displeased with his votes, he could pacify them by going down and giving them a lecture on the history of England. In 1847, he was returned for Buckinghamshire, which he has represented till the present day. In 1852, when the Earl of Derby became Premier, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office seemingly ill suited to a poet and novelist, but amply merited by the unrivalled tact and courage which he had displayed as leader of the Opposition after the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848. In 1868, he became Premier of Great Britain, a dignity to which neither Macaulay nor Bulwer ever aspired. Yet Mr Disraeli has never been at a University, or even at a public school; and so far from courting the aristocracy of England, which is the proudest in the world, he has uniformly glorified his own Caucasian or Semitic race. As his father was an enigma to Benjamin the elder, so the grandson is a mystery to the Buckinghamshire farmers and peasants, who cannot understand how a man whom they see so quiet, genial, obliging, and even bashful, can speak so powerfully and sarcastically as a "Parliament man." His career has not been so eccentric or inconsistent as some of his censors suppose. His aim has been to reconcile the best parts of Conservatism with representative government, and his Radical Reform Bill of 1868 was the realisation of his youthful dreams. An

instance of his kindness to authors may be fitly quoted. During the Chartist rising, Thomas Cooper, then a spouter of sedition and infidelity, was convicted and imprisoned. Like Vincent, Collins, and Lovett, his incarceration developed his intellectual power, as was shown by his producing a poem called the "Purgatory of Suicides," which could not have been published without the intervention of Mr Disraeli. More recently, Mr Cooper has become one of the ablest champions of Christianity, and has, of course, provoked the hearty abuse of his former associates, excepting Holyoake, the most candid and courteous of the whole set. How John Stuart Mill, who would not pay a farthing to defray the cost of his own election, for which I do not blame him, should have subscribed £20 for Bradlaugh's, passes my comprehension, showing, however, that an acute speculative philosopher may act like a child in political life. Mr Disraeli's political position, whether as Premier or as leader of the Opposition, is a proof of his own signal ability, and of the freedom of the British Constitution. The "Edinburgh Review" for 1853 contains a very depreciatory article, insinuating that he is a mere political adventurer, and that his pretensions, as a literary man, are questionable. Judging by the standard of the reviewer, are there no political adventurers holding high office in the present Government? Mr Disraeli's attacks on Sir R. Peel were, doubtless, too fierce; but did Sir Robert Peel show more mercy to Mr Canning? At the election of 1868, Mr Disraeli expressed his regret at some portions of his political life, and his example might be gracefully followed by some professing Liberals, whose eccentricity has been, to say the least, suspicious. Mr Disraeli belongs to a long-lived family, but his future career must be much shorter than his past, and, like Mr Bright, who is, I regret to hear, again in bad health, his political passions are cooling down. If it be asserted that Mr Disraeli has not always worked harmoniously with his followers, did not Mr Grant Duff, M.P., about three years ago, accuse Mr Gladstone of occasionally wheeling round and firing a blunderbuss into the ranks of his own party? Mr Duff was then a private member. Before quitting the subject of pauperism, which has led me to extend this note so far, and which the House of Commons' Committee is investigating during the present session, I may be allowed to state what I knew and saw of Lancashire during the late civil war in America. That great and energetic county was in a deplorable condition. The mills were shut. The operatives were out of employment. Their earnings in the savings banks were soon exhausted. Day by day their household furniture, their only household gods, was pawned or sold to buy food for their starving children, while fathers and mothers suffered meekly and bravely. In Blackburn, the United Presbyterian congregation of the late excellent Dr Francis Skinner was mostly reduced to utter beggary. The late Earl of Derby, besides subscribing handsomely to the relief fund, acted as chairman to the Relief Committee, discharging his duty with the utmost zeal and efficiency; hence his great popularity in Lancashire. Although the firm of Bright Brothers lost heavily by the war, it also subscribed liberally. Shortly afterwards, the more envenomed portion of the Tory press taunted Mr Bright with callousness to the horrible privations of the famishing mill-workers. A gentleman, who knew the contrary, called on the Earl of Derby, who, on hearing the truth, exclaimed "Good God! and has Mr Bright borne such attacks in silence?" The attacks then ceased. I never heard that the opulent Gladstone firm in Liverpool was particularly zealous in the relief of the poor operatives. Mr Gladstone, the Premier, who is not a partner, fell into the grievous error of saying that "Jefferson Davis had made the South a nation." Mr Disraeli rather inclined to the North.

CHAPTER VII.

Suggestions for Increasing the Efficiency of Presbyterianism—Secession of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine—Negligence of Presbyteries in the Licensing of Students—Rev. William Arnot quoted—Glasgow United Presbyterian Presbytery—Dr Duff and the Rev. Frederick Robertson of Brighton—Anomaly in the Judicial Character of Supreme Church Courts—Wesleyan Methodism—M. Remusat quoted—Preliminary Education of Presbyterian Ministers—Rev. John Newton—Rev. Edward Bickersteth—Rev. Thomas Scott—Bishop Warburton—Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon—Rev. John Brown, of Haddington—Prospective Relations of Scottish Churches—Scottish Episcopal Church—Church of Scotland—Free Church—United Presbyterian Church—Bishop Gillis on Protestantism—Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH Presbyterianism is cherished by Scotsmen as a judicious combination in freedom and order, a few suggestions are now offered for increasing its efficiency.

1. Happy the country, says some one, which has no history. Similarly, we may assert that happy is the Church which discharges its duties without the constant interference of ecclesiastical tribunals; for thus will it run less risk of clashing with the law of the land, and of unduly encroaching on the freedom of its own members. If the Synod of Perth and Stirling had dealt prudently and leniently with the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine after he had preached his obnoxious Synod sermon, the Secession of which he was the founder might have heen averted, and Mr Erskine might have leavened the Church of his fathers with some portion of his devout, though somewhat austere, spirit. "At the afternoon meeting, writes an eye-witness, "Mr Adam F——, minister at Logierait, stated that Mr Erskine, in his sermon in the forenoon, had uttered some things which gave offence, and moved for investigation. He was immediately joined by Mr M——, then at Forteviot, now at St Ninians, a man more smooth and subtle than his brother,

but his hand still as deep in a course of defection. Mr Robert C—— of Glendoig, advocate, elder, reasoned also very warmly for censuring Mr Erskine; he is a man that follows the fashion of the present time; his principles and conduct in the Judicatories appear to be of a piece." * How many "hot, violent" men have done mischief on a smaller scale since 1732! How many "smooth and subtle" men, too, have laid snares for their brethren! "I saw Mr Ebenezer Erskine," says the same eye-witness, "then standing at the bar in a most easy and undaunted, yea majestic appearance, amidst warm and brow-beating reasonings against the refusal which he then made, particularly by the Earl of Isla. Before the Commission found themselves obliged to reverse their forenoon resolution against receiving any written answers to their question, a proposal was agreed in for allowing him to read such parts of his representations as contained a direct answer to their question. The paper being then handed over to him, he entered upon the reading of it, beginning with the address and title. The Moderator immediately stopped him, telling that he was to read only such parts as contained a direct answer to the question. Mr Erskine replied that these would come in due order. This produced new reasonings, which issued in his being allowed to read the whole paper. And he did so in a very deliberate manner, with a very audible voice; Mr Archibald Rennie, who was next year intruded into the parish of Muckart, holding the candle to him, for it was then late." Unwelcome as may be the avowal to some pragmatic ecclesiastics, it is right that the truth should be plainly told. Much valuable time and energy are occasionally wasted in Church Courts. Two causes contribute to produce this evil—first, the speeches are needlessly prolix; and, secondly, topics are introduced which do not properly fall within their province. In some Churches there are certain factious, conceited, and domineering ecclesiastics, whose function is to worry themselves, and everybody near them—censuring Town Councils, Railway Boards, Justices of the Peace, and occasionally Judges on the bench, and the High Court of Parliament itself. Such wranglers could choose no surer means of lowering the popular estimation of the clerical profession, and they are commonly negli-

* Ferrier's "Memoirs of Rev. W. Wilson," p. 196.

gent pastors.* "The presence," says a very competent judge,† "of the daily press in the larger Presbyteries is a matter of grave importance. There is great and obvious advantage in the publication of debates and intelligence; but even here some balancing evils are incident in the form of temptations to devote time and strength to matters public, and push the weighty and necessary matters of the ministerial work into a neglected corner. The present writer knows of a case in which a Presbytery, desiring earnestly to do its proper work, sent down inquiries to all its congregations requesting detailed information regarding the Lord's work; and when the information was obtained and analyzed, the member in charge, after attempting twice to get a hearing for his Report, was put off until everything was out of date, and the Report was never presented. Sheaves of overtures, all on important questions; and webs of speeches, all convincing and eloquent, occupied the

* United Presbyterian ministers have, in my hearing, condemned the conduct of a brother in Glasgow, who seldom shows his face at a Presbytery, except to deliver a semi-political speech: he has rarely attended an ordination for twenty years. His elegant church is situated in one of the best quarters of the city, but his absorption in unclerical business has partially scattered his hearers, and he is as nearly as well known in the House of Commons' lobby as Archbishop Manning. He is a man of fair abilities and attainments, but he was persistent in trying to pledge his denomination to the educational policy of Mr Moncreiff, whose patronage, it was thought, would help him to a lucrative Government post, for which he had hardly a stronger title than Sir Henry Moncreiff. If Dr W. L. Alexander, Dr Eadie, or Dr Cairns had been nominated, no objection would have been taken, but all these gentlemen are engaged in congenial work, and wish for no change. Public opinion in Scotland seems to favour the appointment of an Education Board not nominees of the Government. Whatever may be the composition of the Board, the Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters are justly entitled to be represented, since their life interests are at stake. The certificated teachers, too, are worthy of consideration.

† See an article in the "Presbyterian," 1868, subscribed "A.," which indicates the Rev. William Arnot as the writer, as I am authorised by him to state. Mr Arnot's friends in Glasgow, who are very nnmerous and attached, will be glad to hear that his Church, which was thinly attended when he succeeded Dr Rainy, is now quite filled. It is notorious that some of the Free Church ministers in Edinburgh were strongly opposed to his settling in it—a fact which Mr Arnot well knows. But his example was followed by another Glasgow brother, who without any claims to Mr Arnot's gifts, ventured to occupy the pulpit of two distinguished colleagues with what results he and his congregation can tell. A third arrival from Glasgow is the Rev. Jacob S. Alexander, who has no reason to regret his settlement in Edinburgh. In Glasgow he was a staunch and eloquent supporter of Protestantism and free speech when both were menaced by Irish Roman Catholic mobs.

room, and jostled out what is the most necessary and fundamental function of a Presbytery.

"Many parts of the Presbytery's work are huddled into a corner, to the great injury of the cause, and the great grief of the members, who are victims of a system which, though in its conception sound and safe, has practically become unworkable through overgrowth. One of the largest Presbyteries, we are informed, licensed lately a dozen students in one day, hearing on that day twenty discourses, in such fashion as twenty discourses can in one sitting be heard; while the number of members, varying perhaps at different periods of the sitting, was about four. The mischief of hurrying these solemn matters over in such a fashion is inexpressible, incalculable. The appearance of callousness which the haste generates eats like rust into the reverence which should be cherished to the utmost in the hearts of our pious youths.*

"As to remedies, only two lines are possible: one to maintain the overgrown Presbyteries, and tell off various committees, intrusting a class of cases to each; the other to subdivide the Presbyteries. In our judgment, the latter is not only the better method, but the only one tolerable. To do the work of a

* Mr Arnot has here hit the blot. He alludes, I presume, to the Free Church Presbytery, and the following note illustrates the laxity of the Glasgow U.P. Presbytery. Judging from report, I suppose that the Edinburgh Established Presbytery might teach a lesson to many others. Dr Wallace shows little mercy to incompetent students. His own scholarship entitles him to take high ground, for he and Mr J. Campbell Smith, advocate, were the best students of Saint Andrew's University in their day, Dr Wallace carrying off the 1st Prize in Professor Spalding's Logic and Rhetoric Class. Of Dr Wallace I have no personal knowledge, and I regret that before the publication of this volume I have not found time to read his "Recent Church Tendencies in Scotland," in the "Recess Studies," edited by Sir Alexander Grant. Dr Wallace is acquainted with the scholarly published works of our common instructor, Professor Spalding, whose "History of Italy," "Logic," "Rhetoric," and "English Literature," are not excelled by any works on the same subjects. There are still extant his unpublished lectures on Æsthetics and the Greek Drama, which, along with his numerous anonymous articles in the "Edinburgh Review," "Encyclopædia Britannica," and "Tait's Magazine," would form two valuable volumes. Everything that came from Spalding's hand bore the impress of his logical, ingenious, and cultivated mind. How is it that the Universities restrict their degrees of LL.D. to statesmen and schoolmasters, while "able editors" are overlooked? Are there not half-a-dozen Scottish journalists as worthy of this honour as the scores of ministers with a parochial reputation, who are dubbed D.D.'s? Sir William Hamilton was even a D.D. of a foreign university. Editors are presumed to be impersonal, but their names are known to the world.

Presbytery by a Committee, is not Presbyterianism. It is to change our Constitution, and to change it for the worse. One half-dozen members would be charged with licensing of students, and another with education and Sabbath schools, and another with mission stations; whereas it is for the health of every man's own spiritual life and ministry, that he have his hand and his heart always in contact with every one of these departments."*

It would be well, too, if Church Courts would not only restrict their attention to their own affairs, but if their members would also abstain from attacks on the opinions of the ornaments of other denominations.† With all my admiration for the lofty self-denial and heroic labours of Dr Duff, it is hard to assent to his sweeping condemnation of some great thinkers. In his speech on missions, delivered in the last Free Church General Assembly, he said—"Young men betake themselves

* About twelve years ago, Mr Arnot, when in Glasgow, proposed to divide the Free Presbytery in that city, but his proposition was coldly received by Dr Robert Buchanan, and he dropped it. In the Glasgow United Presbyterian Presbytery a committee was recently appointed to consider whether that body, consisting of 76 congregations ought not to be subdivided in four Presbyteries, but nothing has been done. A meeting was held, February 8th, 1870, when Dr J. B. Johnston mentioned that within the last twelve months a student had delivered two trial discourses before two members of the Presbytery. Dr John Taylor observed that in his experience the largest Presbytery was often really the smallest. Dr James Taylor was alarmed at the prospect of speechifying to a diminished Presbytery, observing that the public would not care about the business to be done in such small Presbyteries:—"They would probably get only a paragraph of some ten lines stating that the Eastern Presbytery met to-day, bnt that there was no business of public importance before them." The Union Question was also broached. Dr MacEwan remarked that "the union might take place before the members present were much older than they were." Dr James Taylor said "it was no secret that the promoters of Union in the Free Church had resolved now to put the question to the testing-point, and they all knew that the union would be gone into immediately. He did not say that it would take place at the next Assembly—that was out of the question." Dr J. B. Johnston "did not think the union would take place for two or three years yet." Dr John Taylor "knew, however, that the opponents to union in the Free Church were neither very few nor feeble." Dr J. B. ohnston complained of the lax attendance of members:—"It was shameful to say that there were members of the Presbytery who had not heard a moderator's prayer for six years."

† In the last Free Church Assembly Dr Robert Buchanan appeared desirous of a controversy with Dr William Smith, of North Leith, who showed him the utter groundlessness of his complaint. In the Assembly of 1865, Dr Buchanan rated the United Presbyterians soundly for their reported resolution to refuse payment of the Annuity Tax for their Synod-house in Queen Street, even threatening to suspend or break off the negotiations for union.

more to the study of Carlyle, Newman, Robertson, Compte, Mill, Strauss, and Renan, and thus down into the morass of infidelity they are going."* If young men adopt the opinions of most of these authors, they must be sheer infidels. But is there in this list no name on which a foul stain is unjustly cast? Has not every tolerably well-informed reader singled out the name of Robertson? Which Robertson? Within the last ten years three Scottish Robertsons have died. Of these two have published their thoughts, both ministers in Glasgow—Dr James Robertson, United Presbyterian, author of "Old Truths and Modern Speculations;" † and Dr John Robertson, of the Established Church, author of two volumes of sermons. Neither of these is obnoxious on the score of heresy, though the latter rather inclined to the Broad Church school. Dr Duff must have had in his mind Mr Robertson of Brighton. Has he perused the three volumes of Robertson's sermons? Has he read the records of his chequered and devoted life? Assuming that he is versed in the sceptical theories of the other speculators, was it not a grievous injustice to class them with Frederick Robertson? Granting that Robertson differed from the Westminster Confession on subordinate questions, it might have been expected that, of all men, Dr Duff would have sympathised with his genius, his ardent piety, his purity of character, his graphic exhibitions of Divine truth, his chivalrous endurance of disease and obloquy, his intense interest in the welfare of the poor. By such indiscriminate censure Dr Duff overshoots the mark; and by inserting Robertson in his catalogue he may render an unintentional service to his infidel associates.‡

* See "Daily Review," May 26th, 1869.

† Dr James Robertson is remembered in Edinburgh as minister of Portsburgh church. He was elder brother of the Rev. Andrew Robertson, author of the "Atonement Controversy." Both were natives of Paisley, which, by the way, commonly sends prominent speakers to the three Supreme Church Courts. It is said that in Paisley every third man is a poet. When Dr Fleming, Dr Burns, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, and the Rev. John Macnaughton were members of the Established Presbytery, it was hardly a peaceable one.

‡ Those of my readers who have read Robertson's sermons, and who wish to learn the objectionable passages, will find them exposed and refuted in the very acute Note VII., in the Appendix to "Opinions on Christ," by Dr P. Davidson, United Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh—a treatise evincing great closeness of reasoning and power of discrimination, well worthy of perusal by all thoughtful persons. Dr Davidson was among the first, if not the very first, to deliver and

2. Another weakness of Presbyterianism is the anomalous composition of its tribunals for trying ministers accused of immorality. In the Presbytery, the same men are judges, jury, prosecutors, and sometimes witnesses; in the General Assemblies, the appeal is heard by a jury, consisting of several hundreds of members, who are entitled to pronounce a verdict without having heard the pleadings. One influential minister, no stickler for unnecessary change, complained of this anomaly in the last General Assembly; and the United Presbyterian Synod, which has often set a good example in practical reforms, now refers such appeals to a committee, whose decision is considered final. Of the various remedies proposed, the best would be the institution of a Circuit Court, appointed by the General Assembly, and consisting of ministers and laymen, the prosecution being conducted by a Church Fiscal, and the costs being paid from a general fund.*

3. Ministers and congregations frequently cherish a common desire to dissolve the pastoral relation, without being able to give effect to their wishes in a pleasant and constitutional manner. Frequently, a minister has officiated in one congregation for more than a quarter of a century. Although he may have been chosen by the people, another race of members, who had no voice in his election, has gradually succeeded the original electors, and, for convenience-sake, they still frequent the church. From no fault on either side, a change is often desirable. In a purely voluntary and democratic Church, the supplies might be withheld, but this is harsh and ruinous. In the Established Church, and in the Free Church, the minister is presumed to be independent of his own congregation, though the case of the Rev.

publish a reply to Colenso. Among the imperfections of the intelligent body to which he belongs is the lack of duly appreciating its eminent men.

* Several years before his death, Dr Robert Lee exposed the manifest injustice of the Presbytery which prosecutes any of its members being obliged to pay the costs, sometimes very heavy. It seems strange that the Free Church and the United Presbyterians prohibit counsel from pleading at the bar. If a party is not a practised speaker, what chance has he of stating his case fairly in such a huge hall as that of the Free Assembly? Besides, despatch is secured by employing legal gentlemen, who exclude extraneous matter from their speeches. In the last General Assembly, Mr Asher and Mr Macdonald, advocates, made a most creditable appearance in the Delting case, proving themselves worthy successors of Mr Thomas Maitland, Mr George Deas, Mr Inglis, Mr A. S. Logan, Mr Crawford, and Mr Hamilton Pyper, whom I remember in the old Assemblies.

Mr Fraser, of Loudon, in the last Free Church Assembly, proved a slight departure from this rule. The Wesleyan Methodists practise the opposite extreme, which may be briefly explained. A minister is located by the Conference in a congregation for two years; but if the congregation petition, he is permitted to continue one year longer, when he must remove, and he cannot return till the expiry of eight years. If there are two congregations in one town, two ministers are stationed, and each of them preaches once on Sunday in each church, thus giving both ample time to devote to Home Mission and congregational work. This plan having been found unsuited to the tastes of the Scottish people, the Wesleyan Conference has recently sanctioned some relaxation in Scotland. Yet it possesses some recommendations, which ought not to be overlooked. Certainly, Wesleyan Methodism is the most compact, vigorous, and energetic system in England. Some persons who plume themselves on their superior enlightenment, confound Wesleyan Methodism with vulgar fanaticism. Macaulay, well knowing the folly of such critics, justly sneers at some historians of the reign of George the Second, who had thought it beneath their dignity to refer to the rise of Methodism. With all his Toryism and attachment to the Church of England, Robert Southey wrote a choice life of John Wesley, and Alfred de Remusat, a brilliant French writer, has been fascinated by the same theme:—"C'était apparemment une idée neuve et hardie que celle de provoquer un mouvement religieux par la voie populaire en plein xviii^{e} seècle, que d'entreprendre la sanctification des contemporains de Chesterfield et de Bolingbroke. Wesley y a réussi, et je comprends l'écrivain qui l'a appelé le premier des théologiens hommes d'état, et j'écoute Macaulay* lorsqu'il me dit: 'Son éloquence et sa logique péné-

* Socinians have been wont to claim Macaulay as one of their sect. I believe that, when a young man, he used to accompany his father to Mr Baptist Noel's chapel, in connection with the Church of England. In middle life he was occasionally seen in a Socinian Chapel, near the Strand. Towards the end of his life he worshipped in the chapel of the Rev. Capel Molyneux, an Episcopal clergyman of the Evangelical school, at Kensington. His writings display so extensive and minute an acquaintance with theological controversy that he must surely have been destined for the Church. In his earlier Essays there is a strong puritanical sympathy, which waxes feebler in the later ones, while, in his history, the old character reappears in his eloquent and irrefutable vindication of the Revolution of 1688. During his under-

trante auraient pu faire de lui un littérateur éminent; mais son génie pour le gouvernment n'etait pas inférieur à celui de Richelieu.' Mais je ne puis plus comprendre son excellent biographe, lorsqu'il s'attache avec tant de chaleur à le justifier du reproche d'ambition, comme exerçât un grand pouvoir, sans éprouver la passion du pouvoir, ce qui est apparemment l'ambition. Comment supposer la haine de la domination dans un caractère dominateur? Et qui donc a le plus aimé le pouvoir? est-ce Alexandre ou saint Paul? est-ce Luther ou Cromwell? est-ce Charles-Quint ou Loyola? L'événement a justifié l'œuvre et couronné l'ouvrier. Wesley, en mourant, laissait au méthodisme 540 prédicateurs, dont 312 en Angleterre et 237 en Amérique, et 134,599 fidéles, dont 76,968 dans le premier des deux pays, et 57,634 dans le second. D'après un des derniers recensemens, on disait que l'Angleterre et le pays de Galles contenaient 34,467 édifices consacrés aux cultes, et sur ce nombre 18077 sont des églises libres, dont les neuf dixièmes sont fermés à la liturgie épiscopale. Sur le chiffre de la population totale, 52 pour 100 seulement appartiendraient à l'église. Les congrégations Wesleyennes occupent 3,244 chapelles; les autres congrégations méthodistes 5365. Celles-ci sont au nombre de 8 et se divisent en méthodistes de la connexion de Lady Huntingdon,* méthodistes de la nouvelle

graduate residence in Cambridge he is said to have been a strong Tory, and to have imbibed his Whig opinions from the present Earl of Clarendon and his brothers. His subsequent introduction to Holland House attached him to the Whigs for life. Socinians cannot pretend that they have remained true to the faith of Priestley, Belsham, Lindsey, and Yates. Recently I conversed with one of them in Edinburgh, who confessed that they had now no creed of any kind. They were wont to claim Lord Jeffrey as an adherent, but it is probable that during the greater part of his life his religious creed was of a negative sort. The Rev. Thomas Binney, in his late sermon to young men, remarked:—"The tendency of the present day was to get rid of St John, to get rid of the fourth gospel. He wished some of those who were pooh-poohing the Gospel of St John would write one themselves. A friend of his was once walking with Jeffrey, the great critic, in the gardens at Edinburgh, and, after talking about the past, the old man said—'I have given up all these sort of things, and now'—taking out a pocket Testament—'I content myself every now and then with taking a spell at St John.' There was Jeffrey, the great formidable critic, who, with all his intellect, had come to find that the best solace of his age was calm and quiet thought and contact with the Divine, and taking a spell at St John." I harbour no grudge against Socinians, from some of whom I have received much personal kindness.

* Lady Huntingdon's chapels, which used to be about 30 in number, are not Methodist. They are Congregationalists using a liturgy. The Rev. Newman Hall

connexion, méthodistes primitifs, méthodistes protestants, chrétiens bibliques, méthodistes d'association, inghamistes, méthodistes calvinistes gallois. M. Lelièvre estime qu'aujourd'hui les églises méthodistes qui se rattachent dans les deux mondes au doctrines de Wesley réunissent environ 18,000 predicateurs itinérans, près de 3 millions de communians, et peut-être 10 millions d'auditeurs.*

Wesleyan ministers must be certified to enjoy good health, before receiving ordination, and at a certain age they are placed on the retired list, with an allowance for life, being required afterwards to preach only occasionally when their strength allows

is now minister of the spacious Surrey Chapel, formerly occupied by the Rev. Rowland Hill, and by his successor, the Rev. James Sherman.

* See "Wesley and Le Méthodisme," in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," 15th Janvier, 1870. During the last ten years, in spite of many hindrances, the number of Wesleyan Sunday-scholars has increased from 457,000 to 601,000, while the day-scholars have increased from 61,000 to 120,000. There is surely something worth studying in the man whose followers have risen to 10 millions in little more than a century. Mr Urlin, in his recent work, "John Wesley's Place in Church History," is extremely anxious to see the Wesleyan body incorporated with the National Church, and to bring about this result he adduces a mass of evidence to prove that Wesley steadfastly adhered to the Church to the end of his life, that he put down with a strong hand all attempts at separation on the part of his followers while he lived, and that he deprecated and warned them against separating after his death. The evidence is irresistible. Wesley, beyond doubt, intended his movement to be supplementary to the Church, and his societies to continue within its pale.—(See "Literary World" February 4th, 1870.)—I believe that several of the distinctive features of Wesleyanism would not recommend themselves to most Scotsmen. The authority of the Conference seems excessive, and the Love-feasts in which the members detail their religious experience, are averse to the natural reserve of the Scottish mind on such themes. Much of the strength of the Wesleyans is derived from the local preachers who are somewhat analogous to the Scottish elders. The regular ministers are styled Itinerants, who must not contract debt, and who receive a small annual augmentation of stipend at the birth of each child. Many of them are now highly educated. Their Theological College is at Didsbury, near Manchester. Their Normal College at Westminster is only second to the Glasgow Established Normal College, which occupies the highest place in Great Britain. "Connexional" is a word in frequent use among the Wesleyans. It denotes what is in union with the principles of the "Society," the name assumed by them, and they often stigmatise as "unconnexional" what appears to be opposed to the tenets or wishes of John Wesley, whom they greatly venerate. For the most part they take little interest in the proceedings of other denominations. It is no secret that the Rev. W. Morley Punshon, perhaps the most powerful and eloquent preacher they ever had, lately emigrated to Canada, to marry his wife's sister. Might he not have selected some other lady? When I asked my friend, M. Dutoit, of Glasgow, a native of the Canton de Vaud, if Swiss ladies had political votes, he answered, "No. If they had, they would cease to be respected."

them. Presbyterianism would be strengthened by some modifications enabling its ministers to dispense with preaching so many sermons to the same congregations, when both preachers and hearers wish for variety. When the Rev. William Arnot came to Edinburgh, after a quarter of a century's connexion with one congregation in Glasgow, he confessed that he longed for the luxury of seeing the inside of a book! When a young man of feeble constitution and high aspirations remains too long in the same church, what follows? First, his bodily strength sinks.* Next follows a corresponding decay of his mental faculties. His spirits droop, his temper is soured, his energies are paralysed, he is a wreck of his former self, he is unfit for his work, he drags on a miserable existence, and death is a welcome release from his weary burden.† Is this an exaggerated account of embittered ministerial prospects? Consult the biographies written and unwritten of scores of young men of rare promise, and test the accuracy of this assertion. Is there no remedy? There is an easy remedy, if people would only follow it. Let hearers not insist on their ministers preaching so many new sermons, and let the ministers arrange occasionally for an exchange of pulpits.‡

* My Glasgow readers need hardly be reminded of two laborious young ministers who exemplified the truth of this remark. One of them, Dr John Ker, a United Presbyterian, in the East End, undertook ministerial work far beyond his strength, and, heedless of all warnings, he has been permanently unfitted for ordinary ministerial labour. Another, Dr Charteris, still younger, belonging to the Establishment, was settled in the West End, and having set before himself a very high standard of pastoral activity, was speedily laid aside, and went abroad. On his return he again buckled to work, and might have been again struck down, if he had not been appointed to a University chair.

† Some of these men, with jangled faculties, may be found in hydropathic hotels, as Dr Chambers, the London physician, terms them. I caution my readers against putting too much faith in the vaunted cures of the hydropathists. I do not speak in ignorance, for I have been a cold water patient without seeing the marvellous cures which are alleged to have thrown allopathy into the shade. Before visiting Germany, Sir William Hamilton, who had read Captain Claridge's book with great interest, wished me to make enquiries about Priessmitz and Graefenberg; and I believe I have read almost every work on hydropathy. I can recommend Dr William Paterson's hydropathic establishment at Rothesay. The Doctor is a kind, discreet man, and does not promise to perform impossibilities.

‡ Archdeacon Paley, in his charge to the clergy of Durham, advises them to compose a new sermon at least once in three weeks. Dr Warton, the learned author of the "History of English Poetry," and incumbent of Kiddington, Oxfordshire, used two sermons, one by his father, and the other a printed one with alterations. During my residence at a German Spa, near the Rhine, I thought the minister of the English Episcopal Church traded in two sermons—perhaps they were not his own.

"I may have some persons here," says the Rev. R. W. Dale, "who usually attend other places of worship, and I am speaking to them: to my own congregation I need not say, that when a minister is expected to spend five or six hours on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in the streets, it is simply impossible that he should really preach on the Sunday. A man could not write good leading articles every Saturday if he had to spend the chief part of the week in calling upon the people who subscribe for his paper; and to expect your minister to speak on the Sunday so as to startle your consciences, fire your imaginations, instruct your intellect, and yet to be in your houses as often as it would be pleasant for you to see him there, is to be preposterously unreasonable."*

Regulations might be passed to provide that no probationer shall be licensed under twenty-three years, nor be ordained within less than two years after license, and that he shall spend the interval, under the direction of an experienced minister, in instructing the young, in visiting the sick, in preaching occasionally, and in obtaining a general insight into the nature and obligations of his future office, a decent provision being made for his maintenance during those years. According to the Wesleyan Methodist code, students are forbidden to come under

* See "Sermons to the Working Classes." Mr Dale is successor to the late Rev. J. Angel James, in Birmingham. In bygone times there was an universal rage for boy-preachers, who had reached neither their full bodily nor mental stature. They were ordained when much too young, and intellectually they lived from hand to mouth. The Rev. Mr Jay, of Bath, preached when he was sixteen, and continued to preach till he was four score, with great acceptance. But there are few Jays, and I doubt if they would draw such audiences now-a-days. He was a Congregationalist, and especially disliked Baptists. I have been told that after Robert Hall came to Bristol, Mr Jay was very reserved on the subject of Paedo-Baptism, as he feared Hall. In his old age, Mr Jay was a very venerable and impressive preacher. I heard him in Brighton in 1845. After naming his text, he said, very slowly, "I preached in this chapel 50 years ago. I wonder if any person now present heard me then." After a considerable pause, he added, "I fear no one now hearing me was present 50 years ago," and then proceeded to enumerate the changes he had seen during the long interval. In preaching a funeral sermon on one of his members—a common practice among the Congregationalists—he said:—"Our departed sister had an unlucky habit of gadding about from house to house; but I need not now enlarge on this, as many sisters now present are given to it, and I may have occasion to recur to the subject when I preach their funeral sermons." Like the Claytons, Mr Angel James, and the older Congregationalists, Mr Jay was rather Conservative in his opinions, as well as attached to the Evangelical party in the Anglican Church.

any promise of marriage while attending the Theological Institution; and our probationers would act wisely in abstaining from premature matrimonial engagements, which end in subsequent embarrassment. Self-indulgent clerical exquisites ought to be forewarned of the solemn responsibilities they incur; and unless they give due evidence that their own life and conduct will recommend the doctrines they preach, promotion ought to be refused. In Scotland, candidates for the ministry commence their studies without proper forethought. They complete their University course, and having entered the Theological Classes, along with other fellow-students whose society they have enjoyed, they receive license, and perhaps ordination, without feeling or displaying any relish or fitness for their high vocation. After a brief trial, they exhibit qualities of such a kind as to suggest to their friends a special fitness for some other profession, or exhibit so little intellectual and spiritual activity of any sort as to prove that they are disqualified for anything much higher than a mechanical occupation. They have crossed the bridge, which is cut down behind them. Conscious of their inefficiency, and of the disrespect into which they have fallen, they yet retain the pastoral charges, and profess to superintend the training of other candidates for the ministry. "You must," says Mr Baird of Cambusdoon, "carry your reform further. You must do something to remove drones from the Church. You must have power to remove drones from the Church that wilfully and habitually neglect to do their duty."

4. There is reason to condemn the stringent regulations enforced by all our Presbyterian Churches in the course of study prescribed for a student before he can receive license. Whatever may be his age or attainments at entering the University, he must serve a long apprenticeship.* That these regulations were meant to secure highly qualified probationers is admitted;

* Dr Charteris, in a recent letter to the "Scotsman," states that Presbyterian pulpits are practically closed against all young men who have not entered a University in their teens. When Scotland shall have been provided with such superior provincial Academies or gymnasiums, such as John Knox and Dr Chalmers wished, the disadvantage complained of will be greatly remedied. In every instance which is not very exceptional, attendance at a University ought to be exacted, especially in the theological classes. One curious and not very creditable anomaly exists in the Theological Hall of the Established Church; the ministers have fixed incomes, while the Professors are partly dependent on

that they have failed in many cases is manifest. Why should not Presbyteries be empowered to dispense with the usual protracted curriculum of eight years, if they can find men of learning, piety, and special qualifications for pastoral work? Their dispensing power might be used sparingly, but with much advantage. Here a lesson might be learned from the Anglican Church. A bishop can ordain any man whom he deems worthy, to the office of the ministry. Some of the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church have been so ordained. Look at the Rev. John Newton. In early youth he was an infidel and a libertine. He was master of a slave-ship, and kidnapped slaves along the African rivers. He was a hardened profligate. Abandoning the sea, he became a tide-waiter in Liverpool, where his life and character underwent a blessed change. He applied himself to the acquisition of classical knowledge, and engaged actively in conducting religious meetings in Liverpool and the neighbouring villages. After a preparation of several years in this work, he was ordained by the Archbishop of York. He was licensed to the curacy of Olney, Bucks, and was for twenty-seven years Rector of St Mary's, Woolnoth, London, where he died in 1807, in his eighty-fifth year, revered by Churchmen and Dissenters as the head of the Evangelical

fees, and their incomes are slender. If there be a union of the Presbyterian Churches, there would be fewer Theological students and fewer Professors in Scotland. But the Professors ought to be handsomely remunerated and highly qualified for their office. In the Theological Halls of every Presbyterian Church, there are Professors who are admittedly below the mark. Besides, Professors, like New Testament Bishops, ought to be "given to hospitality." A union of the Presbyterian Churches would place ample funds at the disposal of the United Church, and Theological students would be exempted from the payment of fees. No Theological professor ought to have less than £800 a-year. The Theological Faculty of the University of Edinburgh has wisely prescribed to candidates for the Degree of B.D., not only the customary manuals of orthodoxy, but the works of Strauss and Renan. I knew a young probationer of highly poetical temperament, but scantily furnished with theology or dialectics, who was appointed to a Mission Church in a large city. In the course of his visits, he encountered a sceptical cobbler—cobblers and barbers are often sceptical—an argument arose, and the probationer was worsted. He lost heart, and went abroad to a British dependency, where he is now ordained. Here he must sometimes think of the old reprobate cobbler! Theological students ought to be well versed in systematic divinity, in ecclesiastical history, and in the harmeneutics of the Holy Scriptures. I strongly advise every student to learn and practise shorthand writing, on the stenographic or phonographic system. A curious specimen is prefixed to the "Discourses" of the late Rev. John Riddell, of Moffat. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot.

party. Take the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, who died in 1850, and was highly honoured as an author of many works of a devout and experimental cast. Quitting Westmoreland in his boyhood, he held a situation in the London Post-office, and subsequently settled in Norwich as a solicitor. In his twenty-eighth year, his "Help to the Study of the Scriptures" attracted great attention, and was translated into most European languages.* From his childhood, his character had been irreproachable, and he desired to enter the office of the ministry. He was ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, and preached his first sermon in St Gregory's Church, Norwich, from Acts xxvi. 17, 18, to a crowded audience, attracted by the novelty of a lawyer turning parson. The remainder of his career was marked by indefatigable application to his Master's service. Whether he was employed in visiting the mission stations in Africa, in training missionaries in Islington, or in ministering to his congregations in Wheeler Chapel, London, and Walton, Herts, the value of his labours and example was universally felt. Mr Bickersteth was not endowed with talents of a high order, but his methodical habits and ardent zeal enabled him to render signal service to the cause of Christianity.

* There can be no doubt that a revision of the authorised translation of the Holy Scriptures will soon be undertaken by a Royal Commission, as recommended several years ago by Archbishop Trench, Dean Alford, and Dr Roberts. While the present version is a fine sample of the English language in 1611, many of the words have undergone a change of meaning, which is well explained in "Booker's Obsolete Words in the Bible and Prayer-Book." A parallel change is noticeable in the dramas of Shakspeare, who died in 1616. A learned article on the necessity of a revision of the sacred text will be found in the current number of the "British Quarterly Review" of 1870, by Dr Roberts, formerly quoted. Dr Roberts is recognised as one of the profoundest biblical scholars in Britain. After completing a brilliant University career at King's College, Aberdeen, he was for a few years Free Church minister in Stonehaven, which he left about twelve years ago for a very small congregation in St John's Wood, London, which, having greatly increased, has lately erected for him an elegant new edifice. Among those who took part in the opening services was the Rev. Thomas Binney. While Dr Roberts was composing his great work, "Discussions on the Gospels," his congregation kindly requested him to preach old sermons for six months. As he is still a young man, much fruit may be reasonably anticipated from his profound and varied researches. I am safe in stating that the acrimony of theological controversy had some share in causing him to leave his native country. Chancing to meet him near Regent's Park, shortly after his settlement in London, I inquired about his prospects, when he answered modestly, that he might be induced to emigrate to the British colonies, but that he had no intention to return to Scot-

No books are more highly esteemed by devout members of all orthodox Churches than Scott's "Force of Truth," and Scott's "Commentary on the Bible." They are the productions of a man of strong judgment, of earnest convictions, of dogged perseverance, of indomitable energy. Thomas Scott, born in 1747, was the tenth son of a poor Lincolnshire grazier, and received a humble education. In his fifteenth year he was apprenticed to an apothecary at Alford, where his conduct was so bad, that he was speedily dismissed. During the next nine years, he was engaged in the lowest drudgery of the farm, and mingled in the sports and vices of the baser sort of labourers. He was soured by his father's displeasure, and by the failure of his plans, and by what he counted unjust degradation. Solitude embittered his thoughts and confirmed his resolution. He began to pant after intellectual pursuits and literary distinction. He forsook his vicious and careless ways, and applied himself strenuously to study for the Church. Having obtained priest's orders in 1773, he became curate of Wester Underwood, with a stipend of £50 a-year. In 1779, he published his "Force

land. When his name was mentioned in connection with a vacant Chair in the Glasgow Free Church College, a few years ago, suspicions of his orthodoxy were vaguely hinted! I do not believe that he was an applicant. His scholarship sheds lustre on English Presbyterianism. My friend, the late Dr Hetherington, obtained his Chair in the Glasgow Free Church College in spite of the opposition of the Free Church leaders, who had arranged to appoint the Rev. Mr Laughton of Greenock. Dr Hetherington told me that he composed 100 lectures in his first session. He never recovered from the effort, which was a rash one at his advanced period of life; but he was animated by a strong sense of duty, and he retained to the last the buoyant and impetuous temperament which sustained him during his brilliant student life in the University of Saint Andrews. He was wont to say that he had no heart to remain in Edinburgh after Dr M'Crie went to London, for he deemed that worthy son of a worthy father entitled to a professorship in one of the Free Church Colleges. Dr Hetherington was a very obliging, kind-hearted man, and I liked him none the worse for his high appreciation of Shakspeare, which is shared by Dr John Bruce, of Edinburgh, whom Dr Chalmers thought the most original preacher in Edinburgh. Dr Hetherington's felicitous, though improvised, address to the students of the Glasgow Athenæum, in 1859, electrified all who heard it. He cheerfully complied with the request of Mr M. Provan, C.A., and myself to attend. His early enthusiasm for Shakspeare was rekindled, and he descanted eloquently on the genius of that matchless dramatist. If I remember rightly, the erudite Principal Fairbairn was present, and appeared surprised at the exhilarating eloquence of his colleague. Dr Fairbairn ought to confine himself to his theological studies and professional duties, for he does not shine in church courts. Did not Dr Cunningham once charge him in the Free General Assembly with teaching theology backwards in Aberdeen? But Dr Cunningham was stoutly opposed to a Free Church College there.

of Truth." In 1780, he succeeded his neighbour and spiritual adviser, the Rev. John Newton, of Olney. In 1780, he removed to London, and in 1803, to Ashton, Sandford, Bucks, where he died in 1812, aged seventy-seven. Mr Scott was altogether a very extraordinary man. The late Dr Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, declared his "Force of Truth" to be little inferior to the Confessions of Augustine. His life has been written by his son, the Rev. John Scott, and by the profoundly thoughtful and sympathetic Sir James Stephen. He was the dupe of a knavish publisher. At the age of sixty-seven, he ascertained that £190,000 had been "paid in his lifetime across the counter" for his theological publications, while they had yielded him an annual income of only about £50, and had involved him in a debt of about £1200. Poverty and hardship were his constant lot, but the devout study of the sacred oracles was his never-failing solace. "He died neglected, if not despised, by the hierarchy of the Church of England, although in him that Church lost a teacher, weighed against whom those most reverend, right reverend, very reverend, and venerable personages, if all thrown together into the opposing scale, would at once have kicked the beam. But he died amidst the regrets, and yet lives in the grateful remembrance of numbers without numbers, who, on either side of the Atlantic (in continental, as well as in insular Britain), had found in his writings such a mass of diversified instruction; such stores of intellectual and of spiritual nutriment, such completeness and maturity of divine knowledge, so steady and so pure a light to lighten the dark places of Holy Scripture, so absolute a devotedness to truth, as they had not found in any or all of the theologians who wrote or spoke in his own times and in his own mother tongue." *

* See Sir James Stephen's "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography." pp. 414, 415. Sir James Stephen was the son of James Stephen, the coadjutor of Zachary Macaulay in the Anti-Slavery cause, and the life-long friend of Thomas Babington Macaulay, who was ten years his junior, and whom he always called "Dear Tom." After practising some years as a Chancery barrister, he held various offices, and ultimately became permanent Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office from 1836 till 1846. In 1849, he was appointed Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, where he delivered his profound lectures on the History of France; he died at Coblentz in 1859, a few months before the death of Lord Macaulay. In 1838, he began to contribute to the "Edinburgh Review" his "Essays on Ecclesiastical

Other distinguished names might be cited to prove that a judicious relaxation of the ordinary rules has secured for the Church of England pulpits men of genius, zeal, worth, and practical benevolence. The Rev. George Crabbe, the poet of the poor, was born at Aldborough, in Suffolk, in 1754. Like Thomas Scott, he was apprenticed to an apothecary, but unlike Scott, his conduct was irreproachable. His poetical effusions attracted the notice, and procured the kind assistance, of Edmund Burke. In 1781 he was ordained. Through the influence of Lord Thurlow and the Duke of Rutland, he obtained various preferments, and, in 1813, he died Rector of Trowbridge, in Wiltshire, after a career of heartfelt dedication to the duties of his pastorate.

We should imagine that a University education is indispensable to a Bishop. It is not so. Dr William Warburton was the son of an attorney at Newark, Nottinghamshire, and was born in 1698, and, after receiving a legal education, was ordained in 1723. That Warburton was a man of vigorous understanding, of multifarious learning, and arrogant temper, is known to every student of English literature. After a long course of literary and theological disputes, the great Earl of Chatham appointed him Bishop of Gloucester. His "Alliance between Church and State" was long deemed a standard and irrefutable defence of Church Establishments. His conception of the Magistrate's functions was adopted by Archbishop Whately, and comprised the mere protection of life and property, of body and goods. Dissenting entirely as I do from this secular theory, I cannot think that many Bishop Warburtons would prove a blessing to the English Church, but his name is introduced merely to show that even in that Church, reckoned so exclusive and aristocratic, young men of merit may mount the Episcopal bench without a University training.

Biography," and from that year the Review displayed less of its former sceptical tendency and spirit. His Essays are characterised by ripe thought, by devout feeling, by picturesque beauty, and by what Lord Jeffrey termed a "tone of angelic pity." His duties in the Colonial Office were extremely onerous, yet he never transacted official business on Sunday, except once during the Kaffir war, and on another occasion when the late Lord Derby required him on a Saturday to prepare the draft of a bill for the following week. His son, Mr Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C., has lately received the lucrative appointment of legal adviser to the Indian Government.

If William Wilberforce, or Henry Thornton, or James Stephen, or Zachary Macaulay, each of whom was an ornament of the Christian faith and of our common humanity, had been willing to accept ordination, how joyfully would their ministrations have been hailed by Christian laymen of all persuasions!

Look, again, at the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, whose extraordinary popularity as a preacher has never been surpassed. Without derogating in the least from his learning, it may be safely asserted, that when he came up from the provinces to London, he could not have passed an examination before any Scottish Presbytery. Yet he possessed gifts which no Presbytery could confer. His first efforts were covered with ridicule. According to his detractors, he was a raw bumpkin, vulgar, ignorant, grotesque, offending all taste and propriety. But the bumpkin was not to be laughed down. His preaching disclosed no novelty or heresy, such as often procures an ephemeral popularity, but he stuck to Calvinism, and that, too, of a high type. His fame spread rapidly. When men like the Lord Chancellor Campbell, son of a parish minister in Cupar-Fife, began to attend, and to express their approbation and their conviction of the influence for good which his success was exerting, the public restrained its censure and retracted its decision. Spurgeon was no longer a mountebank, but a preacher of rare boldness, power, and eloquence.* Exeter Hall was thronged, and the Tabernacle was reared.† Neither has he confined himself

* Mr Spurgeon is known to attach much importance to natural and effective delivery, in which many Presbyterian ministers are so much deficient. I advise them to consult a "Letter to Dean Ramsay, on the Art of Reading and Preaching Distinctly, by F. B. Calvert, M.A., Elocutionary Lecturer in Edinburgh." Mr Calvert is a judicious and skilful teacher of his art, and an excellent classical scholar, with an immense fund of knowledge relating to the stage, of which he was once an ornament. He is the father of Mr H. Talbot, the accomplished and popular tragedian. Mr Calvert warns his pupils against affecting the English accent, which is only attained by a long residence in England, and not even then in many cases. The Rev. Edward Irving, and his successor, Dr Hamilton, retained to the last a strong Scottish accent. How is it that nearly all Scottish preachers mispronounce "Jerusalem," "Job," "Aeneas" (N. T.), "practise," "practice," "sacrifice," "suffice," "Stephen," "design," and "isolate?" Smart's "Walker Remodelled," is the standard authority in orthoepy.

† The Londoners are a peculiar people. Among the personages who chiefly engross their thoughts are the Premier, the Lord Mayor, the Head of the Police, the Home Secretary, one or two members of the Royal Family, the Bishop of London, a few popular preachers, and about half-a-dozen actors. Other exalted individuals,

to the ordinary duties of the pastorate; he has supported, and partly conducted, a Theological Seminary, attended by nearly a hundred students; and he has set about an Orphanage on a large scale. He has published more sermons than any man that ever lived, and they enjoy a circulation wherever the English language is known.* Mr Spurgeon, though a Baptist in doctrine, is understood to be almost a Presbyterian in his Church government, at any rate, he is not a Congregationalist.†

But, leaving the Anglicans and the Baptists, let us come nearer home, and borrow a page from the annals of the Seceders. The grandfather of the late Dr John Brown was the Rev. John Brown, the Burgher minister of Haddington, author of the Self-Interpreting Bible, and of the Bible Dictionary, which long used to instruct and gladden the households of pious Scottish Presbyterians.‡ What was his history? He was born at

such as Dukes, and great commoners of provincial celebrity, are quite overlooked. Every cabman knows "Spurgeon's Tabernacle" as well as St Paul's Cathedral. He has not heard him preach, but his wife has, and he has been told that Spurgeon is a crack preacher, and sometimes "pitches into them Bishops and bigwigs, and sarves them right." Cabmen and omnibus drivers are generally well disposed to the Episcopal Church, as keeping Christmas and Good Friday. They are jealous of "Methodists," thereby designating all Dissenters and Evangelical Churchmen, and are always growling at Bishops, Police Magistrates, and the police generally.

* I did not then know the real solidity and occasional elevation of Mr Spurgeon's printed sermons, nor I had not looked at them, until they were recommended by the Rev. Dr George Jeffrey, of Glasgow,—an excellent preacher, and an excellent judge of preaching. Dr Jeffrey's labours in the East-end of Glasgow have been manifold and successful—quite those of an efficient parish minister after Dr Chalmers' own heart.

† See "Christian World," January, 1870. If any reader quotes Mr Spurgeon's exertions as a triumph of the Voluntary system, I answer that they only prove the extraordinary energy of Mr Spurgeon himself. Besides possessing immense energy and decision of character, he is a natural orator. Some years ago Dr Guthrie remarked that his voice, which is a fine organ, is equalled by that of Pope Pio Nono.

‡ It gives me great pleasure to advert to the attachment that existed between Dr Chalmers and the Browns, and to preserve an anecdote told to me by the late Rev. Henry Angus, United Presbyterian minister in Aberdeen, whom I shall again quote. Shortly after Dr Chalmers had undergone that remarkable change of character which so materially influenced his after life, he opened a correspondence with the venerable Rev. Ebenezer Brown, of Inverkeithing, on the formation of Bible Societies—a never-failing bond between the most godly pastors of the Establishment and the Seceders. Dr Chalmers wrote to Mr Brown a letter, strongly condemning some Established ministers in the Howe of Fife, whom he termed "confoundedly lazy." Mr Brown, who was unable to decipher the illegible penmanship,

Carpow, a petty village, near Abernethy, the ancient Pictish capital in Perthshire. Having been left an orphan at eight years of age, he engaged himself as a herd boy. Being of a serious and studious mood, he studied deeply the Scriptures, and, while wandering along the hill-sides, he taught himself Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At the Jacobite outbreak of 1745, the Seceders, to whom he had attached himself, zealously espoused the side of the Protestant Hanoverian dynasty, and, having enlisted as a volunteer, he was quartered for a time in Edinburgh Castle. After the rout of Prince Charles, John Brown taught a village school, where he satiated to the full his prodigious thirst for Scriptural knowledge. His poverty did not admit of his attendance at a University, nor was it required. Having passed through a course of theological training under the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine and the Rev. James Fisher, he was licensed in 1750, and ordained at Haddington, where his pastorate amply fulfilled the bright promise of his boyhood. He flowered early, and the blossoms brought forth rich fruits. He studied Arabic, Persic, Syriac, Ethiopic, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German, Moral Philosophy, Natural History, and Civil Law, every branch of knowledge that could qualify him

sent for Mr Angus, then a student, who contrived to read it to his minister. When he reached the word "confoundedly," Mr Brown stopped him, saying, "Is not that too strong a word, betraying some remains of the carnal man? But I have great hopes of Maister Chalmers." One of Dr Chalmers' last public appearances was in Broughton Place Church, when he accepted the invitation of the late Dr John Brown to speak to his "good people" about Home Missions. I have previously observed that Dr Chalmers was a very hospitable man, and he was very indiscriminate. The following entries occur in his Diary:—"Mr Birt, one of the Baptist ministers now in town, called, and I invited him to take a bed with me during his stay, which will be about a week. He is a great intimate of Mr Hall's, and a very pleasant, well-informed person. . . . Mr Kinghorn and Dr Steedman, other Baptist ministers, called on me. . . . Mr Erskine of Linlathen called between one and two, and spent the day with me. I have had a great treat in Mr Erskine—a holy, spiritual, enlightened, and affectionate Christian, who is also a man of great property and great literature. . . . On my return to dinner, found that Professor Pictet, of Geneva, had called. He left a flattering note, and a letter of introduction from Mr [Zachary] Macaulay of London. . . . Professor Pictet and M. Vernot breakfasted with me, and went to church with me. . . . Had a breakfast party, consisting of my Sabbath-school agents. . . . Mr John Brown of Whitburn [father of the late Dr John Brown] came in to tea. I got him to stop all night with me. Mr Collins came in after supper, and we had a great variety of worthy, cordial Christian conversation." Dr Chalmers seems to have had an extraordinary liking for Moravians and Quakers.

for expounding the sacred volume. In 1768, he was chosen Professor of Theology by the Burgher Synod, and he finished his laborious career in 1787. Let no one suppose he was a mere book-worm. He delivered three discourses every Sunday, gave an expository lecture during the week, and preached and catechised in the neighbouring villages. No marvel that his memory is precious to his kinsfolk and his Church! I am sure that every reader must sympathise with the following extract from the work of John Brown, M.D., his great-great-grandson:—"For the 'heroic' old man of Haddington, my father had a peculiar reverence, as indeed we all have—as well we may. He was our king, the founder of our dynasty; we dated from him, and he was 'hedged' accordingly by a certain sacredness and divinity. I well remember with what surprise and pride I found myself asked by a blacksmith's wife, in a remote hamlet among the hop gardens of Kent, if I was the 'son of the Self-Interpreting Bible.' I possess, as an heirloom, the New Testament which my father fondly regarded as the one his grandfather, when a herd-laddie, got from the Professor who heard him ask for it, and promised him it if he could read a verse."* "One night, having committed the care of his sheep to a companion, he set out on a midnight journey to St Andrews, a distance of twenty-four miles. He reached his destination in the morning, and went to the bookseller's shop, asking for a copy of the Greek New Testament. Some of the professors coming into the shop, questioned the lad about his employment and studies. After hearing his tale, one of them desired the bookseller to bring the volume. He did so,

* See "Letter to the Rev. Dr Cairns, by John Brown, M.D.," p. 72. I am ashamed to confess that I had not read this little work till recently. It is full of genuine pathos, filial affection, and genial criticism, and I advise any one who has not read it to procure it immediately. Dr Brown's Biggar ministry, Uncle Johnston's multifarious lore, Mrs Brown's affecting death, the Doctor's ride on horseback to Juniper Green, Uncle Ebenezer's mishap and succour by the carters, the admiration for Ebenezer's preaching by Brougham, Denman, and Jeffrey, are all told with inimitable effect. How impressive, too, are the great theologian's confessions of his own doubts of his sincerity in religion, of his sense of sin, of God! How they put to shame the pretensions of those self-complacent Christians who, while ever ready to condemn their fellow-Christians, never doubt their own full assurance of faith! It may be added, that Dr Brown, Dr W. L. Alexander, and Dr Norman Macleod, preached the funeral sermons of Dr Wardlaw.

and opening it, said, 'Boy, read this, and you shall have it for nothing.' The boy did so, acquitted himself to the admiration of his judges, and carried off his Testament, and when the evening arrived, was studying it in the midst of his flock on the braes of Abernethy."*

Let us now glance at the principal Scottish Churches in anticipation of their prospective changes and relations. In the historical portion of this Essay reference has been made to the present position of Scottish Episcopacy, It would be irrelevant to canvass the question whether Episcopacy or Presbyterianism is more conformable to Apostolic precept and practice. Such discussions possess less interest now for the great majority of sincere, practical Christians, than at any former period of our national history; and there seems little probability of their revival. Even the keenest stickler for Episcopacy must admit that, at the Reformation, every Protestant country, except England and Ireland, adopted a system of Church government similar to Scottish Presbyterianism. The Presbyterian population of Europe and the United States, amounting to fourteen millions, exceeds any other denomina-

* See Memoir of the Rev. John Brown, of Haddington, by the Rev. J. B. Patterson, the grandson of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington. Five years before the Rev. John Brown's death, the late venerable Dr James Peddie, of Bristo Street U. P. Church, was ordained, and I see that his modest, wise, and scholarly son, Dr William Peddie, has applied for a colleague. Between them, father and son have ministered to that congregation for nearly a century. Dr Peddie is now editor of the "United Presbyterian Magazine," which is excellently conducted. The February number of 1870 contains an article advocating a revisal of Confessions, and blaming Mr Gilfillan for harsh language touching the Confession of Faith. About the year 1850, I heard Dr William Anderson, of Glasgow, preach a sermon in Aberdeen, stigmatising as "detestable," the 23rd chapter of that Confession, which treats of the Civil Magistrate's authority in religion. If Dr Peddie, who is a gentleman, says "That chapter we condemn because we are Voluntaries," I answer, that I, who never was a Voluntary, am as much entitled to object to other articles in the Confession. During the Voluntary controversy, the Voluntaries gained an advantage by affixing the term "compulsories" to their foes. Does Dr Peddie still cling to the old Voluntary theory? Has he not observed that Mr Bright, in the very teeth of his old Free Trade theory, has advocated parliamentary interference between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and that, too, of a very stringent character? Probably some sort of interference is demanded. Does not this prove that Free Trade and Voluntaryism, which, it was said, would put all things to rights, may be pushed too far? Does Mr Peddie join in the cry parroted by many avowed Voluntaries—"EDUCATION—SECULAR EDUCATION—COMPULSORY SECULAR EDUCATION?" Would his excellent father have sanctioned this cry? I have grave doubts if he would.

tion of Protestants in Christendom, forming one-seventh of the entire Protestant population of the globe.* Adding to these the fourteen millions of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia and the German States, which is virtually Presbyterian, we obtain twenty-eight millions—a sum total far out-numbering the adherents of any other Protestant form of Church polity. The disestablishment of the Irish Church has been gradually effacing the distinctions of her hierarchy. In America, the union of the Presbyterian denominations at the close of 1869 has consolidated them into a strong and compact Church. In England, too, the tendency of recent development has certainly not been in the direction of Prelacy. What is the condition of Scottish Episcopacy? That she is merely a dissenting communion, is unquestionable. That she is making perceptible encroachments on the strength of other religious communities, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, will not be contended. That she has been more successful than other denominations in lessening the ignorance and vice of the country, will not be affirmed. What, then, is her relative position among the Scottish Churches? Does she deny the validity of the Presbyterian orders, and treat their sacraments as unholy offerings on Mount Gerizim? Does she believe and inculcate the Apostolical Succession theory, with its three grades of ministers as indispensable to the constitution of a true Church?† To the best of my belief, the most numerous and intelligent portion of the Episcopal laity put no faith in such dogmas, and attach little weight to them. That Presbyterian Dissenters, who are too prone to assail the Church of Scotland and to wrangle with one another, may know in what estimation all are held by one Episcopal dignitary, who is presumed

* United States,	2,000,000
Great Britain,	3,500,000
Holland,	2,000,000
France,	1,500,000
Switzerland,	1,500,000
Austria and Russia,	2,000,000
British and Dutch Colonies,	500,000
Total,	14,000,000

† I have remarked that the Episcopalians in the North of Scotland cherish rather high notions of the origin of Prelacy. There many of the lower orders are hereditary Episcopalians or Roman Catholics.

to represent the opinions of some Scottish Episcopalians, I shall quote his definition of Scottish Presbyterianism: "PRESBYTERIANISM: A Protestant sect, which maintains that there is no order in the Church superior to presbytery, and on that account has separated from the Catholic Church. This sect is established by law in Scotland, where there nevertheless exists a national branch of the Catholic Church under canonical bishops. The establishment of a sect cannot, of course, convert that sect into a church: for instance, if the Socinian sect were established in England, it would not be a whit more a church than it is at present. . . . . In England, Socinian and Presbyterian have become synonymous terms. These observations do not, however, apply to the meeting-houses in England of the Scotch Presbyterians."* Would this depreciation of Presbyterianism have been sanctioned by Archbishop Cranmer, Archbishop Grindall, Bishop Jewell, and other illustrious Anglican divines who endured poverty, exile, or the stake, to purify the Church of the Apostles from the corruption of Popery? Every student of English history knows that they were prepared to go nearly as far as Calvin and Knox in their tenets and ritual. At the present day neither the Broad Church party nor the Evangelical stands by the dogma of Apostolical Succession. What says the 23rd article of the Church of England? "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge as lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to His work by men who have public authority given unto them, in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." And how is this explained by Bishop Burnet in his exposition of this article?

* See "A Church Dictionary. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D." Seventh edition. Dr Hook, who is now Dean of Chichester, was for a long period Vicar of Leeds, where so many of his curates, who had espoused his Anglo-Catholic principles, became Roman Catholics, that he took fright and, as I have heard, became more Protestant. While in Leeds, he performed an act of self-sacrifice not rare in the Church of England. By effecting a sub-division of his over-grown parish, his income, which was about £1,400 a-year, was reduced to £600. He is a brother of the late Theodore Hook, the novelist, who was editor of the "John Bull," the parson's paper, in its palmy days.

"The definition here given of those that are lawfully called and sent is put in very general words, far from that magisterial stiffness in which some have taken upon them to dictate on this matter. The article does not resolve this into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for such accidents as had happened, and such as might still happen. They who drew it had the state of the several Churches before their eyes that had been differently reformed; and although their own had been less forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times; necessity has no law, and is a law to itself." *

Disclaiming all intention to interfere with the policy of the Scottish Episcopal Church, it may not seem presumptuous to suggest that she will secure a surer footing in Scotland by returning to the faith of the English martyrs and confessors, than by coqueting with the corrupt Greek Church, or the Roman Catholic Church, which regards her services as idle mummeries, and her priests as mere laymen. Bishop Wordsworth is doubtless familiar with the life of Edmund Grindall,† the third Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury—how he was compelled to flee from England, and to seek shelter among the Protestant refugees in Frankfort and Strasburg—how he was one of the eight Protestant divines who disputed with the Popish Prelates—how his leaning to the Puritans provoked the resentment of the haughty lioness Queen Elizabeth—how he was confined to his house by an order of the Star Chamber, and treated with marked disrespect. A contemporary of Grindall was the saintly John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, whose "Apology for the Church of England" ranks with Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants,"

* I owe this citation to that able and widely-circulated journal, the "Dundee Advertiser."

† I may remind the reader that I have composed this Essay at the distance of 200 miles from my own library. If any one does not believe that this has greatly impeded and harassed me, I advise him to repeat my attempt. I have been surprised to find that Grindall, who followed Parker, the successor of Cranmer, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, is not even mentioned in the "English Cyclopædia," the "Penny Cyclopædia," or the "Encyclopædia Britannica." A copious memoir is given in "Rose's Biographical Dictionary."

and Daillé's "Use of the Fathers," as a standard vindication of Protestantism.* Like Grindall, Jewell fled for refuge to Frankfort and Strasburg. At Oxford he had been a disciple of Peter Martyr, to whom he acted as notary in his disputation with the Romanists. In his twenty-fourth year, he preached a sermon at St Paul's Cross, London, publishing "a challenge to all the Roman Catholics in the world, to produce but one clear and evident testimony out of any father or famous writer, who flourished within six hundred years after Christ, of the existence of any one of the articles which the Roman Catholics maintain against the Church of England."† Bishop Jewell's vast erudition and singular ingenuity were equalled by his meekness, modesty, and affability, by his holy life, spotless integrity, and indefatigable application to his pastoral duties. He died on a preaching tour, in his fiftieth year, at Monkton Farleigh, a small village in an obscure corner of his diocese. Copies of the folio containing his writings, which was placed in many of the English Parish Churches for the common use, may still be occasionally found fastened by a chain to the reading desk. Contrast with such apostolic Bishops Archbishop Laud, whose narrow understanding, sullen prejudice, and drivelling superstition render him one of the most despicable characters in English Church History, although he has been held up as a model by at least one living minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The teaching and example of Grindall and Jewell, and of their followers Hooper, Latimer, Rogers, and Taylor, would extend the influence of that Church to an extent that can never be produced by arguments against the validity of

* Just as Voltaire assailed Christianity through its corrupt forms, so Cobbett vilified the Reformation by slandering the Reformers—a truly cowardly and despicable act. Cobbett was formidable in attack, but timid and feeble in self-defence. His dogmatism and vanity, too, are transparent in all his writings.

† Dr Pusey has lately published an "Irenicon," proposing a union of his Church with the Church of Rome. Bishop Wordsworth, whose excellence as a Grecian I cheerfully admit, knows that Stillingfleet, a Bishop of Worcester in the 17th century, was also the author of an "Irenicon," and that he was suspected of strong leanings to Presbytery. In the 18th century, Wake, successor of Tenison as Archbishop of Canterbury, opened negotiations with Dupin and the Jansenists for a similar union. The founder of the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England was Bishop Andrews, one of the most erudite of the translators of our English Bible, published in 1611.

Presbyterian orders. In the golden age of the English Episcopal Church questions of orders and vestments were treated with becoming contempt. Bishop Hooper, who died manfully at Gloucester for his religion, long refused to wear the episcopal vestments. "Bishop Ridley, a martyr of still greater renown, pulled down the ancient altars of his diocese, and ordered the Eucharist to be administered in the middle of churches, at tables which the Papists irreverently termed oyster boards.* Bishop Jewel pronounced the clerical garb to be a stage dress, a fool's coat, a relique of the Amorites, and promised that he

* Roman Catholics being unable to refute the arguments of the Reformers, generally take to blackening their private character. John Knox is the favourite theme of their slanders. I have had placed in my hands two publications, which have been distributed among Protestants. One of them is "Cardinal Beaton, George Wishart, and John Knox. By John Stewart M'Corry, D.D., Roman Catholic Priest at Arbroath. 1869." The other is the "Life and Times of John Knox. Two Lectures delivered to the Members of the Edinburgh St Patrick's Catholic Young Men's Society, Session 1867–68. By the Secretary of the Society. 1868." Both of these works contain glowing panegyrics of Cardinal Beaton, and the most virulent and scurrilous abuse of Knox. The English language is ransacked for the foullest epithets, the secretary expressing his amazement that Knox did not "expiate his great crimes on the gibbet," and the priest comparing him to "Cain, the murderer of his brother Abel!" Dr Gordon, an Episcopalian minister in Glasgow, has, in his "Scotichronicon," been pleased to say that Cardinal Beaton was "one of the greatest men Scotland ever produced, and he was certainly the most distinguished person of his time in the kingdom." Dr M'Corry, however, regards Dr Gordon as one of the laymen "having no right to teach, preach, or to baptise, as having usurped the care of souls, and utterly missionless." Protestants will do well to read carefully the following particulars, extracted from the Report of the Scottish Reformation Society for 1868–69:—"The agency of the Church of Rome in Great Britain continues to increase. The following comparative table will show the increase in Churches, Priests, Conventual Establishments, and Colleges since 1829:—

	1829.	1868.	Increase.
Priests in Great Britain, . .	477	1690	1213
Churches, Chapels, and Stations, .	449	1329	880
Convents, ...	—	232	232
Monasteries (in defiance of the law),	—	67	67
Colleges, ...	3	20	17

By referring to the statistical tables appended to this Report, it will be seen that this great increase is chiefly in London, and similar centres of influence. There are also 38 professed Roman Catholic members in the House of Commons, all having seats from Ireland, with the exception of one from England. There are 24 Roman Catholic Peers and 46 Baronets. The Romish population in Scotland may be estimated at 300,000, or 1 to every 10: that of England to 900,000, or 1 in 20. Thus nearly one million and a quarter of the population of Great Britain may be estimated to be Romanists. The views of this population, as it becomes

would spare no labour to extirpate such degrading absurdities. Archbishop Grindall long hesitated about accepting a mitre from dislike of what he regarded as the mummery of consecration. Bishop Parkhurst uttered a fervent prayer that the Church of England would propose to herself the Church of Zurich as the absolute pattern of a Christian community. Bishop Ponet was of opinion that the word Bishop should be abandoned to the Papists, and that the chief officers of the purified Church should be called Superintendents." *

It would be premature to conjecture the prevalent opinions of the ministers of the Church of Scotland.† At no previous period in its history, perhaps, has she contained a larger body of men more highly distinguished for their professional ability,

mixed up with the Irish Romanists, and the teachings of the Irish priesthood, are becoming more and more ultramontane." Let it not be supposed that I am inimical to the just rights of Roman Catholics, with some of whom I have been on intimate terms. In the North of Scotland the priests, who are nearly all Scotsmen, are loyal subjects, and sometimes learned men, eking out their scanty incomes by teaching languages acquired during their residence in foreign universities.

* Macaulay's "History of England," Vol. I. p. 52.

† Bishop Wordsworth has lately announced his resolution to join the Voluntaries in a crusade against the Church of Scotland, because he sees no chance of his own denomination being endowed. Dr Pusey utters the same threat, when he is foiled by the English Civil Courts. Some years ago, certain divines in the Anglican Church made overtures of Union to the Wesleyan Methodists, offering to re-ordain them, but the Methodists answered they were ordained already. According to the canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the orders of a Roman Catholic priest are recognised, while those of Presbyterian ministers are not recognised. It is pleasing to see the Rev. James Montgomery, of St Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, co-operating so heartily with his Presbyterian brethren in Bible Society meetings. I have already admitted that the Scottish Episcopalians were roughly used at the Revolution of 1688. The Rev. John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum," and other popular songs commended by Robert Burns, after taking the oath of allegiance, was imprisoned for six months, because he had celebrated divine service according to the forms of the English Book of Common Prayer, in the presence of more than four persons. Mr Skinner was born a Presbyterian. He was Episcopal minister for 65 years at Longside, Aberdeenshire, and I have read or heard that, in his humble abode, he kept a lamp burning in his window at night as a beacon to wayfarers who had lost their way. His son and grandson were Bishops of Aberdeen, and the latter of them excommunicated the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, who is now a Rector in Wales. During the legal recognition of Episcopacy, there were two Archbishops, with their several sees of St Andrews and Glasgow. Under the former, who was primate, were the suffragan bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Orkney, and Ross. The suffragans of the Archbishop of Glasgow were the Bishops of Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles. At present there are seven Bishops, the Bishop of Moray being Primus.

zeal, diligence, and efficiency. There are, perhaps, within her pale—nay within the pale of every other Church—drones who would not object to her disestablishment and disendowment, provided they were allowed to retire from duty with life pensions. There may be another class, of a higher order, quite satisfied with the present state of the Church, and somewhat averse to union with Presbyterian Dissenters on any terms. If this representation is correct, they labour under a woeful mistake. There was a time when the Established Church could afford to despise and slight Dissenters. That time has long since passed away, and it is neither probable nor desirable that it will ever return. Churchmen can no longer indulge in shallow sneers at Dissenting meeting-houses, to which they were wont to grudge the designation of church or chapel. With the exception of a legal and more liberal maintenance, the Church of Scotland ministers are precisely on a level with their unendowed Presbyterian brethren : sprung from the same class, receiving in the same schools an education continued and concluded in the same Universities. The Theological Halls of the Dissenters can boast of Professors who have enriched the sacred writings of the English language with contributions of sterling excellence ;* their pulpits are occupied by vigorous, earnest, and eloquent preachers. But the laymen of the Church of Scotland are justly entitled to their legitimate share in the election of their ministers. By the Reform Bill of the Earl of Derby, the political franchise has been bestowed on every householder, and on many persons who have neither house, nor home, nor wife, nor family. This franchise can be legally exercised every sixth year; and during the present century Parliament has been

* I speak of the past and the present. What of the future ? At no distant date there must be two vacancies in the professorial staff of the United Presbyterian Church. Ministers of that Church have told me that they cannot find fit successors except among men whose old age is a disqualification. Is this true ? If true, is it not strange ? Are there no Dicks, Browns, Balmers, Eadies, Harpers, and Cairnses in this large body ? The fact is, that ministers ordained at an early age, and bound to compose two sermons weekly, can hardly be expected to amass theological lore which may never be rewarded or required. Private libraries, too, are costly, and good public ones are not always accessible. Do the United Presbyterians hope to have their students efficiently trained by the Free Church Professors, several of whom possessed only this qualification at their election—that, after a brief trial, they were unacceptable in the pulpit, which cannot be affirmed of the Established and United Presbyterian Professors.

dissolved on the average every fourth year. Is it reasonable that men of intelligence and integrity, who are empowered to elect their political representatives, whom they may never have seen, and whom they may constitutionally dismiss without reasons, should be refused the privilege of exercising some authority in the choice of their spiritual instructors, with whom they come in daily contact, and from whom their children may receive impressions for good or evil which will greatly influence their future character? To those who object to the analogy thus instituted between political and ecclesiastical elections, it is sufficient to answer that all earthly Churches are, to a certain extent, political institutions, and that an Established Church, properly constituted and controlled, ought to be a political institution in the best sense—not a corporation linked to rival State factions, but devoted to the religious instruction, moral improvement, and social amelioration of the people who compose the vast majority of the Scottish nation. As soon as an Established Church has ceased to prosecute those ends, no one need marvel that her own existence should cease and determine. As soon as Dissenters are obliged to perform the functions appertaining to a State Church, that Church ought to look for some flaw in her own constitution.

The rich can always build and sustain costly places of worship, but it ought to be the peculiar province of a National Church to provide for the spiritual and temporal wants of the poor.* The founder of Christianity illustrated this truth by His precepts and example. He was born in a stable, and cradled in a manger. His earthly parents were poor and despised. In His infancy he narrowly escaped from a cruel

* I have before me a small volume of sermons, entitled "Sermons Preached to the Working Classes," in 1867, by Dean Stanley, the Rev. Henry Allon, the Rev. Edward White, the Rev. Dr Hamilton, the Rev. Samuel Martin, the Rev. R. W. Dale, the Rev. A. Mackennal, and the Rev. Mark Wilks. Conferences had been held in the large English towns between the working classes and ministers of various denominations, to ascertain why multitudes never attended a place of worship, Many labouring men appeared, and stated a number of objections to sermon-preaching. The Rev. R. W. Dale says,—"I have heard of seat-holders so utterly destitute of common courtesy, to say nothing of right christian feeling, as to request strangers whom they found in their pew to move out, just as they would ask any one to move who had taken their reserved seat at a concert." In every church a number of pews ought to be set apart for the poor or others, as their right.

massacre. He ennobled industry by shaping wood and hewing timber in the workshops at Nazareth. While the "foxes had holes, and the birds of the air their nests, He had nowhere to lay His head," and the legal tribute-money He was compelled to fetch from the fish's mouth. Regardless of the sarcasms of the Pharisees, he kept company with publicans and sinners,* and commended the self-abasement of the publican more than the self-righteous declaration of the Pharisee, when both were going up to the Temple to pray. Without pandering to the passions of the Jewish populace, He adapted His teaching to the popular mind. On the green summit of the hills, by the side of a well, in the crowded market-places, and in the fields, which were His pulpit and His text, he founded his lessons on their humble occupations, thus presenting a marked contrast to the repulsive formalism and opprobrious maledictions of the Rabbis who spake without authority. His miracles attested His mission of mercy. He unsealed the eyes of the blind, unstopped the ears of the deaf, caused the lame to walk, cleansed the lepers of their filth of body and soul, cast out devils, and restored the demoniacs to their right mind; and when the multitude had received instruction from His lips, He wrought a miracle to feed them with good material bread, for they were very hungry. He wept over Jerusalem, and went about continually doing good, warning men to flee from the wrath to come, in the parables of the lost silver, the lost sheep, and the lost son, speaking mercifully to a "woman who was a sinner," so that his bitterest foes spontaneously confessed that "never man spake like this man."

† The following extract from the Preface to the new edition of "La Vie de Jesus," which appeared in the "Journal des Debats," Feb. 22nd, 1870, we should believe Ernest Renan to be improving:—"Le christianisme, ou, pour mieux dire, l'esprit de Jésus renferme ainsi le germe de renaissances sans fin. Il y faudra revenir toutes les fois qu'on voudra créer ou réformer en religion, de même qu' il faudra revenir à l'Acropole d'Athènes, chaque fois qu'on voudra vivifier l'art. Les dogmes mesquins des étroites orthodoxies qui tour à tour se sont arrogé l'honneur d'être la seule Eglise de Jésus ne doivent pas nous rebuter. Les temps approchent où tomberont ces chaines grossieres, œuvres des âges barbares et des ambitieux profanes qui, durant des siècles, ont exploité à leur profit la doctrine de Jésus. L'orgueil de l'Eglise de Rome, qui est la plus complète négation de l'Evangile de Jésus, sera bientôt puni. La jeunesse éternelle de l'œuvre de Jésus refleurira; la poussière des saints redeviendra féconde, et les os des milliers de martyrs qui ont rendu témoignage à l'idéal retrouveront la vie."

The following is the present position of patronage in the Church of Scotland :—The number of patronages belonging to the Crown is 319. There are parishes in which the election of ministers is placed on a more or less popular basis—namely, 105 of the newly-erected *quoad sacra* parishes, and 5 original parishes—110; in the hands of Town Councils, 44; in the hands of Universities, 10; in the hands of three noblemen, 91; in the hands of seven do., having each ten or upwards, 87; in the hands of thirteen do., having more than two and less than five, 42; in the hands of three baronets and four other patrons, 41; in the hands of forty-one patrons, having two each, 82; in the hands of patrons having one each, 177—626. Total number of patronages, 1109. The total number of lay patrons is 261.

According to the statistics prepared for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the results are as follows: —The whole number of communicants in the Free Church is about 253,000; the United Presbyterian communicants (in Scotland) are about 160,000—both, 413,000. The communicants in 715 out of the 1254 congregations of the Church of Scotland were, in 1868-69, 269,995. The other 539 congregations (at the same average) give about 206,470 —total, 496,425; which is about the number of communicants in the Church of Scotland, or about 60,000 more than the other two Churches put together.*

So much space has been devoted to the history, claims, dissensions, and efforts of the Free Church, that any further comments may seem superfluous. Its position at the present moment is peculiarly exceptional. A few years at longest must remove from active exertion all the chief actors of the Disruption. Of her ministers, not more than a fourth part were ordained before that event, and of the remainder, it would be hazardous to say how many cling to the traditions of the Veto

* See "Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for 1869," p. 3. In the Registrar-General's Report of marriages, the relative numbers nearly correspond with the number of communicants. 37 per cent. is the sum of the Free Church and United Presbyterian—43 per cent. of the Church of Scotland. The numbers are within 3000 of those found in the Report of the Church. In justice to the Free Church, it ought to be explained, that in the North Highlands, where the "Men" rule, large congregations contain very few communicants.

Act and Spiritual Independence. It has been shown by quotations from the declarations of at least one prime actor of the Disruption that he has greatly declined from those traditions, and the same process might be easily applied to actors of inferior note, who have followed their leader. As time passes by, the heroes of any great crisis in political or ecclesiastical transactions retire from the scene and give place to younger men. Shortly after Earl Grey had carried his Reform Bill of 1832, he retired from public life, and spent his remaining years placidly at Howick Hall. Mr Bright, it was well known, was most reluctant to accept a seat in the present Cabinet, since such a post reflected no honour on an orator who had expended the best part of his life, and no small part of his fortune, in the advocacy of what he conceived to be the cause of justice, freedom, and mercy. Dr Candlish has been recently haunted with a presentiment that the time has come for him to bind up his sheaves and abandon the fields of strife. "I am," says, he "a father, sir; I am a grandfather. I am obsolete, and belong to a bygone age. The Disruption is matter of history, now being past and set by; and I, who bore a part in the Ten Years' Conflict, am now, of course, become a historical character. In these circumstances, I had better perhaps, like a veteran, retire from the stage."* In this determination it may be surely expected that Dr Robert Buchanan will acquiesce, for he is the historian of the Ten Years' Conflict; consequently he ought not to remain in the arena of strife after Dr Candlish has retired.

But Dr Candlish has, moreover, expressed his anxious desire to return to the Church in which he first won his reputation, and that, too, in terms so solemn, that to doubt his sincerity would be a wanton insult—"I say, if it is the desire of God† to

* See "Scotsman," May 31st, 1866, for a report of Dr Candlish's speech in the Free General Assembly.

† Dr Candlish has contracted an unfortunate habit of using the names of the persons of the Trinity too frequently. Before and after the Disruption, he, along with other Free Church leaders, had a trick of accusing their opponents of denying or insulting the Headship of Christ. Such taunts have now become deservedly obsolete. Dr Candlish clings to his habit of affirming the Holy Spirit's being vouchsafed or refused, according as it may suit his own opinions for the moment. Just before the Disruption, he, at a meeting held in New Street Church, Canongate,

allow or to ordain a reconstruction of Presbyterianism in Scotland, embracing the Establishment, as well as those bodies that are negociating for union, if that should be the mind of God as regards the future, God grant that it may be so. Most heartily do I go along with Dr Blaikie* in desiring that consummation."†

As regards the laymen of the Free Church, they ought to be free from the misconceptions which were so prevalent at the Disruption. The "Protest" is a document which few of them

hinted that those ministers who remained in the Establishment had no right to expect the Spirit's influence. In 1868, when he was anxious to remove Mr Wilson, of the Free Barclay Church, to London, against his will, he remarked that there had been "a large outpouring of the Spirit" that day in the Presbytery. Abominating as I do profane swearing, I hold the unnecessary use of the names of the Trinity to be undesirable. In England, pious people, especially sentimental ladies, are prone to use such expressions, which would have been sternly and properly rebuked in a Burgher Seceder manse forty years ago.

* Dr Blaikie, now a Professor in the Edinburgh Free Church College, was formerly minister of Free Pilrig Church, Edinburgh. He is a son of a late Lord Provost of Aberdeen, and a brother-in-law of the Rev. Dr Davidson, of Aberdeen, repeatedly mentioned in this work. It is understood that Dr Blaikie is, or was, favourable to a union of the Free Church with the Church of Scotland. Some alarm was felt in certain quarters of the Free Church when, some years ago, he officiated for the Rev. J. Elder Cumming, of Newington Established Church, at a weekly prayer meeting.

† See "Scotsman," May 31st, 1866, for a report of Dr Candlish's speech in the Free General Assembly. The reader who has attentively observed my references to Dr Candlish, will be sorely perplexed by the above declaration. At page 150 I have quoted Dr Candlish's declaration in 1866, that "of discipline as regards doctrine and worship, there is none in the Church of Scotland." Is not his condemnation of the Church of Scotland very irreconcilable with his wish to return to it? Yet both statements were made in the same year, in the same Free Assembly, on the same day, in the same speech! What is more, he was cheered by the same audience for both declarations? But his second declaration may be taken as the expression of his real sentiments. Perhaps his meaning was, that when he returned to the Church of Scotland he would restore "discipline as regards doctrine and worship." I cannot say how he would begin, but he would not be allowed to rule with so high a hand as in the olden time. I do not know any more despicable proceeding than that adopted by Free Church leaders on several occasions to get rid of some minister who has stood in their way—I mean their trying to injure his moral character. One of them—not Dr Candlish—has been a conspicuous persecutor of his brethren for the sin of inebriety. On one occasion he was a libeller and a witness, when the poor defendant, a weak, nervous man, whose brain was turned by any stimulant, was deposed. The prosecutor himself was proved to have partaken liberally of the same stimulant in the same company, without, however, being much affected by it. My information is derived from the lawyer engaged in the case, and from a United Presbyterian minister in the same county.

have ever seen, and, as Dr Candlish would say, it "belongs to a bygone age," and is "being past and set by." After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, it would be invidious to enquire what parties were to blame for the lamentable result which split up congregations throughout Scotland, causing hundreds of pastors to quit their manses,* and introducing strife into countless families, setting at variance father and son, husband and wife, brother and sister. Deplorable, however, as was the Disruption of 1843, it has taught the people of Scotland a costly and valuable lesson. They now perceive that nine hundred new churches have been built for ministers preaching substantially the same doctrines as had been proclaimed in the Establishment and by the Dissenters, without any appreciable diminution of ignorance, crime, or superstition.† They now perceive, also, that of the two great principles pleaded in justification of that step, one has been proved to be impracticable in a well-governed commonwealth, and that the other has been nearly forgotten, if not formally abandoned by the very leaders of the Exodus. But doctrines inculcated by oblivious teachers are sometimes remembered by mindful disciples, who have learned to shake off authority. If the present members of the Free Church are willing to expend large sums of money annually on schemes, some of which are so costly and superfluous, I can only express my fervent hope that they may soon receive further enlightenment. ‡

* It is a blessing in many respects to be born and reared in a Scottish manse. It secures a good education, a wholesome example, regular habits, and respectable company. But the inmates have a dim foreboding that the time must come when they must leave it, with the flowers they have sown, the shrubs they have planted, the hedges they have trimmed, the garden trees with their delicate blossoms and mellow fruits.

† After the above was printed, the wife of a United Presbyterian minister directed my attention to a very remarkable pamphlet by the Rev. David Pirret, minister of a Mission Church in the New City Road, Glasgow, strikingly confirming my statements. (See Note V, Appendix.) Mr Pirret is a very faithful and diligent pastor. No sooner was he settled in Glasgow, about eight years ago, than Dr Buchanan sought to plant a rival church in his immediate neighbourhood, much to Mr Pirret's annoyance. Did not Dr Buchanan's attempt cause some dissension between his own elders and deacons? Did not Mr Pirret complain to him personally?

‡ Of the present Free Church ministers, it has been stated that about three-fourths have been ordained since 1843. What do they think of Dr Robert Buchanan's

The very designation of the United Presbyterian Church is associated with Union and compromise. I have already recounted the story of her origin, dissensions, schisms, and reunions,—how the Associated Church, constituted by the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine and his three brethren, at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, in 1733, was rent in twain by the Burgess oath dispute in 1747—how the Burghers and Anti-Burghers retired into hostile camps, breathing mutual defiance—how both the Burghers, in 1799, and the Anti-Burghers, in 1806, were subjected to another schism, resulting in vexatious litigations—how the Old Light Burghers and the New Light Burghers

Union Scheme? Some time ago, I met a Free country minister, who was ordained in 1853, and whom I had not seen since that year. He is a Unionist, but he said that he was not committed to oppose a more comprehensive union, such as I have indicated, if it could be accomplished. Several other Free Church ministers whom I know hold his sentiments. To say they are desiring to share "the loaves and fishes" is a stale and silly taunt, to be classed with the threadbare saying about the "flesh-pots of Egypt." At a meeting of Dr Begg's congregation, on the 27th December, 1869, he was presented with a portrait of himself, painted by Daniel Macnee, R.S.A. In returning thanks, he "rejoiced that he had been permitted to take part in the Disruption struggle, and probably he would have an opportunity of putting on record the scenes which he had witnessed, and notices of the men with whom he had worked, and of the men against whom he had contended. He thought some ecclesiastical history of the period of that nature was necessary, as it would bring the people more into direct contact with the time and the scenes which it occasioned than any yet written." Dr Gibson, who was also present, addressed the meeting, "expressing his personal obligations to Dr Begg for his defence of him and of the great truths and doctrines of the Word of God. Neither Dr Begg nor himself had ever changed their belief in these great truths, and any man who had done as they did could easily disregard all kinds of attacks. He had been a minister even longer than Dr Begg—for forty-eight years—and he could give a lesson to numbers of newspaper editors and others of the like kind who had honoured both Dr Begg and himself with their attacks. The attacks went for very little, and did very little harm, when they came to their time of life, if they had been resting firmly on the rock of God's truth. He could name distinctly some fifteen of the gentlemen to whom he had alluded who had slandered both Dr Begg and himself, and none of them now lived honoured, and perhaps a great many of them were not in the land of the living at all." It consoles me to think that I have not slandered Dr Gibson, or Dr Begg, or any other person. But in 1850 the two Doctors were not quite harmonious, for I learn from the "Witness" of that year, that Hugh Miller thought Dr Begg more progressive. Dr Begg may make some strange revelations in his history. A certain Established minister in the south of Scotland has threatened to publish similar documents compromising Free Church leaders. An hundred years hence a stray copy of this book may be consulted by some ecclesiastical historian for some particulars relating to the state of religious parties in the year 1870.

effected a Union in 1820—how the Relief Church, which had been derided by both, was received into their bosom in 1847—how a section of the Old Light Burghers returned to the Establishment in 1839, while the remainder became incorporated with the Old Light Anti-Burghers in 1842, forming the Synod of United Original Seceders—and how a portion of the United body joined the Free Church in 1852. In all of these schisms, some crotchets were exalted into cardinal doctrine, while in all the Unions the same crotchets were reduced to their appropriate insignificance, or wholly forgotten.* The causes of strife were so paltry, that few ministers, and still fewer lay-members, of the United Presbyterian Church can render an intelligible account of them. It is true, indeed, that when the Burghers and Anti-Burghers remodelled their Testimony about the commencement of the present century, they unwittingly sowed the seeds of modern Voluntaryism. That change may be partly explained by the French Revolution of 1708, which occasioned a violent shock in political and ecclesiastical systems in Great Britain. A fresh impulse was communicated by the second French Revolution and the Reform Bill of 1832. It has been demonstrated that the authorised expounders of the Voluntary theory are at open variance on its essence and scope; that its extreme form is subversive of sound legislation in a Christian country; and that Churches professing the Voluntary principle may have been all the while receiving and amassing endowments, regardless of the quarter whence they have proceeded. That less importance is now attached to the Voluntary principle than in 1832 is unquestionable. Fortunately for their own peace of mind, a large portion of the present United Presbyterians can know only from testimony, written or oral, the fierce animosity and virulence which characterised the outbreak of that famous controversy.† Within one short

* Some of the smaller sects in Scotland profess to be very strict in the admission of members, and refuse the certificates of Presbyterians wishing to join them, unless they submit to a fresh examination. These sects even require their candidates to state the very date of their conversion. If the pastor and deacons were infallible, this might be justifiable. But do not they, too, sometimes fall into awful sins? Judas Iscariot was guilty of the most appalling crime known among men, yet it is probable that, like the other disciples, he wrought miracles.

† When I aver that I attach less weight to some dogmas of the Confession of Faith than to an efficient territorial Church with moderate endowments, I may

year it kindled angry passions and inflicted cruel wounds. Preachers of the gospel, who had been ordained to the ministry of reconciliation, to proclaim peace on earth, and good will towards men, announced by the heavenly voice to the Bethlehem shepherds, assailed one another with the most opprobrious epithets, and ceased to practise the courtesies of civilised society,*

be set down as the degenerate son of a Burgher Seceder minister. But I learned some part of this doctrine in the manse, I now hold it, and invite any one to prove me to be wrong. Some portions of the Confession I do not quite understand; but I have long understood, and on fitting occasions enforced, the manifest superiority of the territorial principle over fitful and disjointed Voluntary efforts. Scotsmen are not now looking out for a religion which Parliament is to endow. Their religion is Protestant, and mostly Presbyterian, and they possess the Teinds. Nor do I see any fatal objection to Episcopalians of the school of Jewell, Hooper, and Ridley receiving partial endowments, for they never professed the apostolical succession dogma.

* I speak from my boyish reminiscences of Fifeshire, and from my student-life associations in Edinburgh. On a sudden, gospel ministers, between whom there had been no personal strife, ceased to bow to one another in the street. How sceptics and scoffers jested over such exhibitions! What a fine example of brotherly love to set before "men of the world!" The following anecdote I relate on the testimony of the late Rev. Henry Angus, United Presbyterian minister, Aberdeen, a man of fine understanding and generous sympathies, who once owned to me that, if he had not been born a Presbyterian, he would not have objected to a rectory in the Church of England:—While the Voluntary controversy was raging, he dispensed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in his own church, and on the evening of the following Monday there was a thanksgiving service, when the Rev. Mr L., a pronounced Voluntary, was to preach. On approaching the church, Mr Angus said, "Mr L., here is the most popular Established minister in Aberdeen coming to hear you." After the service of praise and prayer, Mr L., instead of delivering the appropriate discourse which he had prepared, chose another text—I think it was "My kingdom is not of this world"—and launched out into a furious tirade against Established Churches and their ministers. Mr Angus was horrified. "I could have sunk into the ground," he said. "Here was an eminent Church of Scotland minister come to hear a gospel sermon on a solemn occasion, and he may believe it to be a sample of the sermons preached in our pulpits on Sacrament Mondays." The popular minister in question was the Rev. A. D. Davidson, now Dr Davidson, of the Free West Church, Aberdeen. What became of Mr L.? He went to America, where he was preacher to at least twelve congregations within twenty years, and then joined the Baptists, with whom he quarrelled, threatening them with a lawsuit. He recently left America. Again, shortly before 1843, I heard a prominent Established minister, now in the Free Church, oppose in the Assembly, the abolition of the Bible printing monopoly, because the Bible might be corrupted by "Atheists and Voluntaries," as if these same Voluntaries had not out of their poverty been the foremost to circulate the Word of God! In those days the Free Church leaders were cursing Voluntaryism and Voluntaries. I dislike and distrust extreme Voluntaryism, but I curse nobody, and am anxious to say a good word of everything and everybody,

heedless of the Saviour's counsels to his disciples to be at peace with one another, and of Saint John's exhortation to cultivate the perfect love which casteth out fear. One prominent defender of the Church of Scotland, now dead, spoke of the "perjured and apostate Secession;" while of her assailants, another, still living, discoursed of "the Church of Rome, of its daughter the Church of England, and its grand-daughter the Church of Scotland." Men who had been fighting shoulder to shoulder to drive in the lines of unbelief and profligacy, unsheathed their weapons against one another. Within a few years the scene of strife was changed. Factions arose in the Establishment, fierce passions were again inflamed,* insulting epithets were freely exchanged, the civil powers were invoked; but the Voluntaries were passive spectators of the fray, though their sympathies were perhaps enlisted on the side of the Establishment.

To the ministers and the members of the United Presbyterian Church, I beg to make a direct appeal: If your grandfathers discarded the authority of the Erskines seventy years ago touching the obligations of the Covenants and the power of the civil magistrates, surely you are equally entitled to resile from the extreme position of your fathers in 1832: in fact, you have already resiled from them. You name your places of worship after the Erskines, who, you must confess, would have repudiated many of your principles and practices. If Ebenezer Erskine could rise from his grave with the opinions which he cherished at his death in 1754, he would probably ask you to remove his fine, courtier-like statue from your Synod Hall to the United Original Secession Church of the Rev. Mr Smellie, in Victoria Terrace. Whether he was bound in conscience to abandon the Church of Scotland, or to remain and strive to reform her, as Dr John Erskine, an equally devout

except when men making high professions belie them by their own acts. I may add that the United Presbyterian minister now ordained in Mr Angus' church is the Rev. Mr Rutherford, a young man of excellent promise as a preacher, who saw no objection to attending one session at the Theological Hall of the Established Church, prior to taking his degree of B.D., although the Free Church Professors have unluckily succeeded in preventing any of their students from doing likewise.

* For a dismal picture of the strife now raging in the Free Church, see Dr Horatius Bonar's letter in Note W, Appendix.

man, afterwards did, you cannot maintain that the Church of Scotland is now obnoxious to the objections which your founder so severely censured. It was the boast of your forefathers that the doctrines preached in their pulpits were strictly Calvinistic,—even more rigid than Calvin himself would have sanctioned. Have you not declined gradually and sensibly from that high standard? Would one member of your Synod now condemn Dr John Brown for heresy? Are you quite certain that a majority would condemn Dr Morison, who was unanimously condemned in 1841?* Some of the most intelligent of your ministers and members now declare that your Synod acted unwisely in taking that step. Much more recently you censured Dr MacEwan and his congregation for using an organ. If the organ controversy be revived and decided on its merits, apart from extrinsic considerations, are you convinced that the Synod will continue the prohibition? The Erskines took

* At the February meeting of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, Dr Ogilvie's harmless motion to send Mr Gilfillan's work to the Dundee Presbytery was carried by 26 votes against 19. The leader of the minority was the Rev. Mr Morton, a most laborious and exemplary minister in one of the largest congregations in Edinburgh: he wished to let the matter drop. The United Presbyterian Church is opening a critical page of her history. I cannot glean from the newspapers of the times that a single line was ever penned in favour of Dr Pringle, Dr Macleod Campbell, Mr Wright, or Dr Morison. Mr Gilfillan cannot complain of want of support from the press. At its meeting in February, the Dundee Presbytery took up Mr Gilfillan's case in his own church, a large audience, which warmly sympathised with Mr Gilfillan, being in attendance. There is every reason to believe that a majority of the Dundee Presbytery would have taken Mr Morton's view, but Mr Gilfillan yielded to the request of his brethren in consenting to modify some strong language which he had employed. For this I do not blame him any more than Dr Temple, who has in convocation retracted his contribution to "Essays and Reviews," or than the Rev. Thomas Binney, who is never ashamed to confess and retract an error. Two months have gone since I wrote the note on Dr Temple at p. 37. Since then he has entered on the duties of his Episcopate, commencing with a sermon an hour long, and using no notes. In 1866, Dr Hamilton, of London, spoke of the spiritual chaos of the diocese under Dr Philpotts. A loud outcry was raised against the appointment of Dr Whately, in 1831, and of Dr Hampden, in 1836. Dr George Johnston has suggested that Mr Gilfillan ought to found a new sect, as if Scotland were not blessed, or cursed, with too many sects, and too few Christians. During the interval between the meetings of the Edinburgh and Dundee Presbytery, Mr Gilfillan took part in a conversazione held by the congregation of the St Paul's Established Church, the minister of which is Dr Andrew Taylor, formerly parish schoolmaster of Duddingstone, and one of the good old stamp—a capital pedagogue. He is also a superior preacher. (See Note X, Appendix.)

exception to the false doctrines taught in the Established pulpits. You will not contend that their objection has now any real foundation. Their successors impugned the theology taught in the Established Divinity Halls. Is there one theological professor in a Scottish University whom you can truly brand as heretical? The lives of the Established clergy were undoubtedly careless. Will you pretend that their successors are at all inferior in this respect to the ministers of your own Church? You have been wont to regard the civil courts as instruments of fraud and oppression. Judging from the conflicting decisions of your own and other ecclesiastical courts, do these bear the signature of infallibility?* Are they always marked by judicial firmness or impartiality? If your life or moral character were at stake, would you prefer to be tried by a presbytery or by a jury assisted by a judge? As for the assertion that the Church of Scotland receives a direct grant from the State, are you aware that it does not exceed £20,000 a-year, and whether that be withdrawn or not, will you not find ample scope for your voluntary liberality in a comprehensive Presbyterian Church retaining the Teinds, and engaged in noble Christian, educational, and philanthropic enterprises? If you boast that you are masters of the situation, and that you hold the cards, would it not be patriotic to divide the honours?†

* I can state, authoritatively, that several United Presbyterian ministers, second to none in character, experience, and moral weight, see no insuperable objections to a reconstruction of the Presbyterian Churches on the basis indicated in these pages. To publish their names would, in some cases, be a breach of confidence, and might expose them to misrepresentation among their less charitable brethren.

† These are not my words. They occur, I think, in a drama of Mr Andrew Halliday, one of the most popular play-writers in London. His full name is Andrew Halliday Duff, and he is a son of the late Rev. Mr Duff, of Grange, one of the seven Strathbogie ministers whom I saw deposed by the General Assembly in 1841 for obeying the law of the land. Some intolerant Free Churchmen may think that the versatile son of the minister of Grange might have chosen another profession, but that is not my business. Many persons, I fear, who make high Christian professions run into some danger of despising and condemning other persons whose business it is to amuse the public. About twenty years ago, when the late Mr Edmund Glover, the respected manager of the Theatre Royal, Glasgow, became tenant of a house in West Regent Street, Glasgow, two Free Church maiden ladies who lived in that street were almost frightened out of their wits. By-and-by one of them candidly remarked—"We are agreeably surprised. Mr Glover is a quiet, respectable man, and attends Mr Oldham's Church every Sunday, with his wife and family." I could give the name of a

Will you contend that the Church of Scotland could have maintained its position without State recognition and support in 1560, when it shook off the corruptions of Popery? If you say that about two centuries afterwards she had lapsed into sloth and heresy, will you ascribe that declension solely to her alliance with the State? Had not the disestablished and disendowed Presbyterian Church in England sunk to a lower depth? Do you fear that the State, which in 1870 represents for the most part the same individuals who compose the Church, will rush into political suicide? Are statesmen commonly so very perfidious, or Churchmen so very faithful to their solemn trust? "The Church of Scotland," says Dr Chalmers, "was herself the author of that woeful degeneration which took place in the eighteenth century. It was not patronage singly which brought the withering regimen of Moderatism into our Establishment. It was the Church which arbitrated unrighteously between the patrons and the population."*

I cherish some faint hope that I have given no gratuitous offence. Facts have been set forth fully and fairly, while they have been interpreted without bias or prejudice. The best evidence of persuasion of the goodness of a cause is to give a faithful exhibition of the views of one's opponent. I do not profess to have always entertained the same opinions as I now do, on all the questions here handled.† Without sanctioning the seeming paradox of a celebrated author,‡ that the only person competent to decide a difficult question is he who has advocated both sides, it is undeniable that he who mingles only with persons of his own creed is like the man whose apartment is surrounded with mirrors, which reflect his own image all around. The twenty-sixth day of July, 1869, saw the fall of the Irish Protestant Church, as an Establishment. Whatever conclusion may have been formed regarding the justice of that step, it has only a re-

popular Dissenting preacher, well known in England and Scotland, who, when a student, was stage-struck. After my remonstrance had failed, I sent him to an old actor, who strongly dissuaded him against going on the stage, quoting his own chequered experience. The student took his advice.

* See "What Ought the Church and the People of Scotland now to do?" the pamphlet formerly mentioned as having been consulted in the Advocates' Library.

† I allude to organs and permissive short liturgies.

‡ See "Guesses at Truth," by the Brothers Hare.

mote connection with Scotland and her Church. The Irish Church was sacrificed avowedly to pacify an excitable population, banded together by secret oaths, and instigated by lawless ruffians to pillage and massacre, to the extirpation of the Saxon race, and the erection of an Irish Red Republic.* Happily for our past history, Scotland furnishes no parallel. No agrarian outrages scare either the owners or the tenants of our soil. No secret societies tamper with the fidelity of our soldiery, or invite the invasion of a foreign foe. Wrongs, indeed, we have suffered, which we have redressed, not by dunning the Exchequer for bribes, or by the confiscation of property; but by toil, industry, steadiness, enterprise, and loyalty. My arguments and appeals apply to Scotland as a distinct nation, possessing a National Church, bequeathed by Presbyterian forefathers, and endeared to their Presbyterian descendants. Let the people of Scotland, forgetting all past differences, unite cordially in seeking to achieve a common benefit. Logomachies have had their day and done their work. Let them be consigned to "word-twisters" and dialecticians as intellectual exercitations. "At the battle of Talavera, the English

* Scotsmen must have breathed more freely since Mr Bright declared at Birmingham, on January 11th, 1870, that there is no longer a Roman Catholic grievance in Ireland. I always read Mr Bright's speeches with great attention and interest, though I do not always agree with him. He will remember that Mr H. G. Ward, M.P. for Sheffield, a Whig-Radical, who became a subordinate member of the Whig Administration in 1846, when he was taunted by constituents with not renewing his annual motion on the Irish Church, and with official reserve on other questions, excused himself by saying that a "nearer acquaintance with office had deepened his sense of its responsibilities." So with Mr Bright. The Fenians have received from him a well-merited rebuke. The advocates of the Permissive Bill, with far better aims, have found him inexorable, and blamed him freely. Mr Bright does ample justice to his opponents. I have heard him characterise Mr Disraeli as "a man of genius, a man of rare and indomitable courage;" and when Mr Bright came into Parliament as M.P. for Durham, Mr Disraeli was among the first to recognise the ability of the comely young man from Rochdale. Mr Bright was formerly blamed for his frequent attacks on Lord Palmerston. Several years before that veteran's death, Mr Bright kindly said, "I have ceased to assail Lord Palmerston; I have a respect for old age." When Mr Cobden declined office from Lord Palmerston, he said, after the interview, that he found him such a genial old gentleman that he had not the heart to attack him. Mr Bright expressed his estimate of the oratory, if not of the politics, of the late Earl of Derby, whom he deemed "a great master of the English language." His averseness to working men M.P.s has exposed him to the charge of Court flunkeyism; but he can never be a flunkey in any shape. At a meeting in St James's Hall, London, before he was a Cabinet Minister, he nobly defended the Queen, whose seclusion had been uncourteously criticised by Mr Ayrton, M.P., now a supercilious official of the Government.

and French troops for a moment suspended their conflict to drink of a stream which flowed between them. The shells were passed across from enemy to enemy without apprehension or molestation."* Scotland cannot afford to be periodically if not perpetually disturbed by unprofitable controversies. Her population is probably smaller than that of London, or of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Let her patriotic sons, therefore, combine to restore her to her pristine rank.

On the Sunday evening, May 29th, 1843, Dr Gillis, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, delivered a discourse on the Disruption. He had recently arrived in Scotland, and had attracted audiences of Protestants by a series of controversial lectures. By deliberate and ingenious perversions of history, similar to those of which I recently convicted Dr Goss, an Englishman and a Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, he even tried to whitewash the atrocious Inquisition. On the Sunday evening in question he held forth as follows:—"Supposing myself to be standing at the west end of Princes Street, what do I find? I can see an assemblage of Reformed Churches. St John's Reformed Episcopal Church of Scotland,† the St Cuthbert's Reformed Church of Scotland, and Dr Candlish's Free Church, reformed within the last fortnight;"‡ he might have added, the Rev. Mr Reid's United

* See Macaulay's Essay on Dryden.

† I am not sure if St Thomas' Reformed Episcopal Church of England was then built, but it is now visible from the same spot.

‡ I must ask the reader to accept my word for the accuracy of this report, for I was present. The sermon was not reported in the newspapers, though Hugh Miller occasionally administered a little wholesome castigation to the Bishop. The reader will have remarked that I have often quoted from the "Scotsman," and he may have rightly inferred that I am one of his regular readers. The late Dr Heugh wrote to his friend, Dr John Brown—"I am fond of erroneous books; for one is never more confirmed in the truth than after reading them, although we must not be self-confident." The first newspapers I ever read were the "Fife Herald" and the "Scotsman." The "Scotsman's" articles, correspondence, and reviews are marked by such freshness, vigour, and interest, that I read them while opposed to his policy. It may be a bad habit, but it is an old one. Readers of the "Scotsman" will have remarked that I utterly dissent from his views on secular education, which I take to be theoretically and practically unsound. His opinions on the present attitude of the Church question also appear rather vacillating and indefinite. About thirty years ago, the "Scotsman" was a pronounced Voluntary, and supposed to speak the sentiments of the Whig party and the United Secession Church. Mr Charles Maclaren, the editor, was a frequent worshipper the church of Dr John Brown, whom he much respected for his biblical

Presbyterian Church in Lothian Road, and St Mark's Socinian Church in Castle Terrace. If Dr Eyre, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, should choose the same text, he might preach a sermon fully as forcible. He might invite his hearers to accompany him to Blythswood Holm, and to survey a motley group. He would point to the churches of the Rev. Dr M'Cann, Episcopalian minister, of the Rev. Mr Rennie, United Presbyterian, of the Rev. Mr Hopps, Socinian, of the Rev. Mr Murray, Original Seceder, of the Rev. Mr Scott, Evangelical Unionist, of the Rev. Mr Clokie, Reformed Presbyterian, of the Rev. Dr Henderson, Free Churchman, and of the Rev. Dr Craik, of the Established Church. Anxious but ignorant inquirers might be perplexed by such diversities of denomination, if not of creed. The Archbishop and the Bishop might be reminded of the indisputable discordancy in their own Church with its boasted unity, of the revolutions of the Papacy, and of the crimes and debaucheries rampant in the Vatican. Still, even such discourses are fraught with a wholesome lesson to Protestants, if they would not turn deaf ears to them. So saddening was the effect of such needless divisions, even on the vigorous and independent mind of Dr Arnold, that he wrote, "When I think of the Church, I could sit down, and pine, and die."

"How came it," Dr Charteris lately asked, "that with such an advance as there had been in Church activity there should still be this immense amount of heathenism? He believed it was

expositions. Mr Ritchie, the proprietor, was a member of Dr Peddie's church. When, about twenty years ago, Mr Fergus O'Connor opposed Sir John Cam Hobhouse on the Nottingham hustings, he taunted him with the recantation of Radical doctrines, and asked him, "What are you now?" Sir John answered briefly, "I am twenty years older than I was then." The "Scotsman" is thirty years older than when I began to read him, and probably not one of his then regular contributors is now alive; so that the "Scotsman," like any other journal, may be taunted with inconsistency, for which no member of his present staff is personally responsible. I do not know that editorial succession has ever claimed an apostolical descent; but I do know that the exigencies of a daily newspaper compel the editor to insert articles which he can never have seen, and has barely time to read in his columns. If editors could reprint old articles, or borrow new ones from brother editors, as the clergy sometimes do, they would lead easier lives. But there are many clever fellows who do not write books or articles in magazines and newspapers, and whom I advise to think for themselves on ecclesiastical and political questions, instead of trusting implicitly to any "We" or "I" of authors.

in a great measure owing to this, that denominational divisions had led many to cultivate their congregation and neglect their territory. In view of such facts, he asked if there was not ground for suspecting that there was something grievously wrong, that there was a duty which the Churches might do in common, but which, as things were, they never attempted to overtake? Pondering on these things, he had been brought strongly to support the anti-patronage movement. He believed that, as they at present stood, there was very little chance of their fighting shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. He believed the time was very near when there must be a bold, and free, and generous handling of the whole question of creeds and confessions—handling by those who believed, and not by those only who, for anything positive they said, might believe nothing. He was certain, however, that if any one of the Scottish denominations were to take such a position just now in regard to that question, the chances were ten to one that the rest would cry 'heretic.' If they intend to fight for the citadel they ought to agree what that citadel was, and not spend their strength so completely as they were doing now in skirmishing along a wide and distant frontier. On these grounds, he was for the abolition of patronage and for the furtherance of union, so that the old Church of Scotland might be re-established in the country. It seemed to him that if there were a generous redistribution of territory, accompanied with a really generous redistribution of endowments, the old Presbyterian Church of Scotland might be set on a better footing than it had been in its best historical days."*

* See Speech in the Commission of the General Assembly, March 2, 1870. Dr Pirie's remarks were equally pacific, judicious, and well-toned. "He wanted the Presbyterians of Scotland to be united as one man, so that they might stand forth as the opponents of immorality, irreligion, and rationalism; and he believed that if the Church put forth the right hand of fellowship to the Dissenters, the latter would be prepared to meet them, not for the purpose of promoting their own interests, but of maintaining the cause of Christ. It had been said that the clergy of the Established Church might have prevented the present difficulty if they had come forward in 1843. He believed that both parties behaved rashly and unwisely on that occasion, and he was quite satisfied that they misunderstood each other. It was no wonder there were misunderstandings, but it would be a most singular thing that because there were misunderstandings then they were to be persisted in now."

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, p. 13.

THE FATHERS OF THE SECEDERS.

Persons who have devoted any attention to the biography of the Secession of 1732, must have remarked how it sprung up, not in the large cities, or in the University seats, but in certain counties about the centre of Scotland—Stirlingshire, Perthshire, and Fifeshire. Ebenezer Erskine was minister of Stirling; his brother, Ralph Erskine, was minister of Dunfermline; William Wilson was minister of Perth; Alexander Moncrieff was minister of Culfargie, near Abernethy; James Fisher was minister of Kinclaven, in Perthshire. Erskine and Wilson were sons of ministers; Moncrieff and Fisher were sons of landed gentlemen; all were men of liberal education, and well connected. Moncrieff joined the Anti-Burghers. The Theological Halls were held at the residences of the Professors. Thus we find them established successively at Perth, Abernethy, Alloa, Kinross, Whitburn, Haddington, and Selkirk, till they were removed to Edinburgh and Glasgow. North of the Grampians, the Seceders hardly gained any firm footing; and to this day the United Presbyterians are numerically weak in that large tract of country. Carnock, the scene of Gillespie's Relief Secession, is a parish four miles west of Dunfermline. John Brown, of Haddington, was born at Carpow, near Abernethy.

NOTE B, p. 23.

CHANCERY CASE OF JARNDYCE AND JARNDYCE.

"Jarndyce and Jarndyce, drones in this scarecrow of a suit, has, in course of time, become so complicated, that no man alive knows what it means. The parties to it understand it least; but it has been observed that no two chancery lawyers can talk about it for five minutes, without coming to a total disagreement as to all the premises. Innumerable children have been born into the cause; innumerable young people have been married into it; innumerable old people have

died out of it. Scores of persons have deliriously found themselves made parties in Jarndyce and Jarndyce, without knowing how or why; whole families have inherited legendary hatreds with the suit. The little plaintiff or defendant, who was promised a new rocking-horse when Jarndyce and Jarndyce should be settled, has grown up, possessed himself of a real horse, and trotted away into another world.

"Fair wards of Courts have faded into mothers and grandmothers; a long procession of Chancellors has come in and gone out, the legion of bills in the suit have been transformed into mere bills of mortality; there are not three Jarndyces left upon the earth perhaps, since old Tom Jarndyce, in despair, blew his brains out at a coffee-house in Chancery Lane; but Jarndyce and Jarndyce still drags its dreary length before the Court, perennially hopeless.

"Jarndyce and Jarndyce has passed into a joke. That is the only good that ever came out of it. It has been death to many, but it is a joke in the profession. Every Master in Chancery has had a reference out of it. Every Chancellor was 'in it,' for somebody or other, when he was counsel at the bar. Good things have been said about it by blue-nosed, bulbous, shrewd old benchers, in select port-wine committee, after dinner in hall. Articled clerks have been in the habit of flashing their legal wit upon it. The last Lord Chancellor handled it neatly, when correcting Mr Blowers, the eminent silk gown, who said that such a thing might happen when the sky rained potatoes, he observed, 'or when we get through Jarndyce and Jarndyce, Mr Blowers,' a pleasantry that particularly tickled the maces, bags, and purses."

Note C, p. 24.

ROBERT POLLOK.

Robert Pollok was a type of a large class of Scottish students, and was, moreover, a young man so remarkable in many respects, that a brief notice of his life may not be unacceptable to readers beyond his own denomination. He was born at Moorhouse, in Renfrewshire, ten miles from Glasgow, his father being a small farmer, and his mother an eminently pious woman descended from a family which had suffered in the persecutions of the Covenanters between 1660 and 1688. Both of his grandfathers and grandmothers had become Seceders when Ebenezer Erskine left the Church of Scotland. Like other farmers' sons, Robert Pollok's school education was interrupted by agricultural work, especially during summer. After he had attained the age of sixteen, he began to learn cabinet-making with a brother-in-law at Barrhead, but, after making four chairs, he abandoned the craft, saying "it would not do." In 1817, he entered the University of Glasgow, intending to become a man of letters, but hard study soon undermined his health. In 1820 he wrote from Moorhouse to his elder brother David in the following desponding strain:—"To be aiming at literature without adequate assistance is a hard task, but to

be without stimulating health is harder still. I have not spoken of the state of my health to any person here; but the lowness of my spirits is no doubt visible. Dr Reid, the last time I saw him, recommended residing a month or two at Arran, and taking occasional sails. But to go there and be comfortable requires money, and you know that is not to be found. Were I even to get it here, I know so well their inability to assist me, that every shilling which I spend tortures my soul." In 1822 he took his degree of M.A. In 1823 he wrote "Helen of the Glen," a prose tale, which he sold to Mr Collins, the publisher, for £15. In the autumn of that year he wrote—"I did not debate whether or not to take the school, but my health, my inclination, and an ardent desire to attempt something, spoke against it; and so I resolved, after a weary, horrible struggle—for I knew I was leaning on a reed that had pierced a thousand sides—to trust for bread to the exertions of my pen. Success in teaching in such a place as Coupar-Angus would have been failure." Like most young men brought up in the country, he could ride, drive, and handle a gun; nor did he feel any scruple, when an occasion required, to take the place of his brother John in the Renfrewshire Yeomanry Cavalry, where he showed himself an excellent horseman, kept his place well in the ranks, and went through the sword-exercise with dexterity. While a student of Divinity, he wrote his "Ralph Gemmel" and "The Persecuted Family," and paid a visit to the Pentland Hills and other spots consecrated by the sufferings of the Covenanters; but he was fast sinking, and he wrote:—"Health is happiness—at least I think it so. The pains continue to hover about me. They weary my body, and they weary my mind; and, in fact, they so work that the force of mind which should be sent abroad in the contemplation of nature and moral scenery is almost at every moment attracted to the feebleness and worthlessness of myself." On his return to Glasgow he had rheumatic fever; recovering from which, he hoped for renovated health: "the fever has burned up my old constitution." He came to Edinburgh to dispose of his Tales, but was mortified by the declinature of several booksellers. At length one of them gave him twenty guineas for the copyright. After attending the Divinity Hall for five sessions, he was licensed to preach the Gospel. He preached his first discourse in Dr Brown's Church, Rose Street, Edinburgh, when his embarrassment was such that his memory gave way, he stopped repeatedly, and reached the end with difficulty. His health now rendered a change of climate necessary, and, accompanied by his sister, he set out for Italy; but he died in the South of England, and was buried in the churchyard of the parish of Millbrook. Shortly before his leaving Scotland, he finished his "Course of Time." Professor Wilson, who had been a boarder with the parish minister of Mearns, near Pollok's birthplace, kindly examined the poem, and introduced the poet to Mr Blackwood, the publisher, who gave him £2500 for the copyright, a

far larger sum than Scott or Campbell ever received for any of their poetical works. Mr Blackwood's anticipations of the sale of Pollok's poem were verified, for it has gone through several editions. Robert Pollok was remarked as a shy, reserved young man, and inaccessible to professed patrons. When a student of Divinity, he delivered a sermon to the professor and the students on the words, "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Several expressions were high-wrought and poetical, and caused a general smile, when the preacher sternly said—"Had not sin entered the world, no idiotic smile would have gathered on the face of folly, or put out of court the man of worth." This sketch has been abridged from the biography prefixed to the poems. An eminent D.D. of the United Presbyterian Church, one of the few surviving fellow-students of the poet, has kindly written to me as follows:—"A great deal of misstatement and nonsense has been circulated about Robert Pollok. I recollect the sermon to which you refer. It was extremely extravagant. The students soon began to laugh and ruff. He seemed to get irritated, and interlarded sentences at them; spoke of the forked tongue of criticism; and the hubbub increased. Dr Dick, the Professor, frequently said, 'Order! gentlemen, order!' but without effect. He criticised him with great severity. Pollok spoke of the monsoon as 'pestilential.' Dr Dick said the monsoon was a favourable wind, and that it was the sirocco which was deleterious. I have heard that, a few students taking breakfast after the discourse, David, his brother, said—'Robert, I wonder you did not open the door and walk out;' when he replied—'I once thought of doing so, but I reflected that both professors and students would soon reckon it an honour to have belonged to the same Hall with me.'" There is an attempt being made at present to erect a monument to him in his native parish of Eaglesham.

NOTE D, p. 35.

THE LAST OF THE STUART DYNASTY.

Prince Charles Stuart died at Florence, in his sixty-eighth year. Whilst his perilous adventures in Scotland, after the rout of Culloden, are familiar to most readers of Scottish history, very few knew anything of his subsequent life. After a short residence in France, he visited London in disguise, in 1750, but finding that an insurrection was impracticable, he returned to France. After an absence of three years, he revisited London in 1753-4, with the intention of seizing George II. as he returned from the theatre, but having been recognised by an old adherent in Hyde Park, he rushed to the sea-coast, and crossed in a boat to France. There is good reason for believing that he saw the Coronation of George III. in 1760, and, despite the doubts of David Hume, it is certain that he embraced the Protestant religion in 1762. At the death of his father, the old Chevalier, in

1766, he assumed the title of King of England, but was greatly irritated by the refusal of the Pope to acknowledge his pretensions, and took up his residence at Florence in 1770. It appears too true, that the liking for stimulants increased as he grew older, and that his unhappy marriage in 1772 drove him more than before to seek solace from the bottle. In 1779, Wraxall saw him in the Florence Theatre in a humiliating condition. In 1783, Mr Greathead, a friend of Charles James Fox, had an interview with him, when his eye brightened with the old fire; and, after recounting his Highland campaign with great animation, his voice faltered, and he fell on the floor. He died on the 30th of January 1788, the anniversary of the execution of his great-grandfather, Charles I. In St Peter's Church, at Rome, a monument by Canova, raised, it is said, by George IV., bears the names of JAMES III., CHARLES III., and HENRY IX., KINGS OF ENGLAND. Charles had a strong passion for music, and like his grandfather, James II., took great pride in the exploits of the British navy.—His brother, Henry Stuart, born in Rome, and usually styled Duke of York, when only in his twenty-third year, received a Cardinal's hat from Pope Benedict XIV. The curse which had hung over his devoted race seems to have pursued him to his grave. During the French invasion of Italy, the revolutionary troops stripped him of all his property; and as he was reduced to absolute poverty, George III. bestowed on him an annual pension, which he enjoyed till his death in 1807, at the age of eighty-two. Cardinal York possessed respectable abilities, and his disposition was gentle and amiable. To British subjects in distress his purse was always open. To George IV., then Prince of Wales, he bequeathed the Crown jewels, abstracted by his grandfather, James II., including the "George," which had been worn by the Cardinal's great-grandfather, Charles I.—(See Jesse's "Pretenders and their Adherents.")

NOTE E, p. 39.

THE HALDANES.

Robert Haldane, a nephew of Admiral Duncan, afterwards Lord Camperdown, entered the Navy, in 1780, at the age of fifteen. After displaying commendable gallantry in several engagements, he returned to Scotland before attaining his majority, married, and settled down on his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, a beautiful spot, now the property of Lord Abercromby, of which a fine view may be obtained from the summit of the Wallace Monument, near Stirling. There he occupied himself with landscape gardening, and other amusements. Like Southey and Wordsworth, he strenuously opposed the war with France, and excited fierce clamour by proclaiming himself a democrat, and by avowing his belief in human perfectibility—a dream soon dispelled by the Atheism and bloodshed with which France was deluged. The early instruction of his pious mother, and the society of godly

Presbyterian ministers, decided his choice between God and Mammon. "Christianity," said he, "is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be false, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of professing to believe it." News of the Baptist Carey's Serampore Mission had reached Airthrey. Haldane resolved to sell his estate in order to found a mission among the Hindoos. To this field he was attracted, partly by the fact that his estate had been purchased with money amassed among Oriental idolaters. Having engaged a band of missionaries, he offered to settle on each £3500, and to invest £25,000 for behoof of the mission in the event of his death. The holy city of Benares was to be the scene of his labours. Strange to tell, his proposals did not receive the sanction of the Board of Control, which was anxious to defend the shrine of Juggernaut; hence he was content to labour among the Scottish home-heathen, a numerous class, since the congregations in the Establishment rarely amounted to one-tenth of the parishioners, according to the testimony of Dr Hamilton, of Strathblane, father of Dr Hamilton, of London. Mr Haldane was disgusted with the scepticism, levity, and jollity of the Established ministers in Edinburgh; and he found no greater countenance to his zeal and activity among the Seceders. Being joined by his brother James, who had also left the Navy, he resolved to separate himself from the Presbyterian Church, and to institute Colleges and Churches on Congregational principles. He entered warmly into a scheme of Mr Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, and the Governor of Sierra Leone, to send over thirty African children to be educated in Edinburgh, guaranteeing £6000 for their passage and education. At last the rupture of a blood-vessel compelled him to desist from his itinerant open-air preaching. Between 1798 and 1810, he expended on his favourite scheme £70,000. He next purchased the barren estate of Auchingray, which skirts the road nearly midway between Edinburgh and Glasgow, and resumed his old employments of planting and gardening, and the treeless wilderness was soon changed into a waving forest. On Sundays he expounded the Scriptures to the peasantry in a private chapel, and a Parish Minister having expressed to a tenant his curiosity to know what was the attractive power of the Squire's preaching, received the answer, "Deed, sir, I'm thinking it's just the contrary to your preaching." In 1816, the Continent was open, and he was bent on propagating the Gospel among Roman Catholics in France; but on reaching Paris he was shocked to find that Geneva and Montauban, the French Protestant colleges, were infested with Socinianism and infidelity; he, therefore, took up his abode in the city of Calvin. How Utopian his enterprise seemed! He was ignorant of Hebrew, Greek, and even of French, but he was no common man. Having secured an interpreter, he instantly went to work and formed a class of thirty students, whom his deep piety, earnestness, and solemnity, riveted to his expositions. M. Cheneviere, the shallow, flippant, Socinian Professor of Theology, in vain attempted to break up the assembly.

Within a single year Haldane had won over Gonthier, Frederick Monod, Caesar Malan, and Merle d'Aubigné, who had been President of a Socinian Association. He next proceeded to Montauban, the seat of the French Protestant College, where his success was not so remarkable. In Geneva he was succeeded by the late eccentric and accomplished Mr Henry Drummond, M.P., who gave such offence to the Protestant Consistory and the Council of State, that he was compelled to retire into the French territory, where, at his villa within sight of Geneva, his vast wealth enabled him to afford substantial aid to the Christians under the Socinian persecutions. After Robert Haldane's return to Edinburgh, he plunged with characteristic impetuosity into the Apocrypha controversy, which raged twelve years. In one year he published fifteen pamphlets. His youthful democracy had been superseded by high Toryism, and unless greatly belied, his Auchingray tenants were hardly left to the freedom of their own will at political elections. He next fiercely attacked his old friend, Dr John Brown, for refusing to pay the Annuity-Tax, an onslaught which Dr Brown bore meekly, for he respected his assailant, though he defended himself in the sermons now forming his work on "Civil Obedience in the Payment of Tribute." Turning from the theologian, he censured Mr Macaulay, M.P., for his speech in support of the Ballot. Macaulay defended himself without acrimony, denying that he had ever lent any countenance to that "duplicity which is the disgrace of the East." One of Robert Haldane's last productions was an imperious letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, insisting that the Rev. Mr Menzies, of Hoddam, should be libelled for translating Tholuck's Commentary on the Romans, which did not tally with his own exposition; but the Assembly wisely took no notice of the letter. Indeed Robert Haldane, who possessed a strong intellect and equally strong force of will, was no master of Greek exègesis, and was impatient of any opposition. He died in 1843. His brother, James Haldane, was the counterpart of Robert, with less intellectual force. He was pastor of the Tabernacle from 1799 to 1851. The two brothers cherished a deep mutual attachment.

NOTE F, p. 45.

THE MARROW CONTROVERSY.

The "Marrow of Modern Divinity," the name of a book consisting of quotations from the most celebrated Protestant divines, was published about 1644, by Edward Fisher, who is said by some to have been a London barber, and afterwards an Independent minister, while others represent him as the son of a knight and an Oxford Master of Arts. In 1718 the "Marrow" was republished by the Rev. James Hog, of Carnock, and quickly ran through ten editions. It caused quite a ferment in the Church of Scotland, and especially in Fifeshire. Principal Heddon, of St Andrews, in a sermon preached

before the Synod of that county, condemned it as tending to relax the obligations to holiness, and as encouraging anti-Mormonism; and a committee of the General Assembly having condemned its doctrines, the Assembly sanctioned its report. Many ministers, including Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, warmly espoused the stigmatised doctrines; hence they were designated "Marrow men." In 1722 the dispute was closed by the Assembly's refusing to receive their protest, but great discontent was thereby excited throughout Scotland, and paved the way for the Secession of 1732.

Note G, p. 48.

DOCTRINES OF THE EVANGELICAL UNION CHURCH.

They hold the freedom of the human will as lying at the foundation of all religion, natural and revealed, in opposition to the scheme of a necessitated will, as held by Calvinists, and by almost all classes of infidels. God's fore-knowledge they deny to be his fore-ordination. The doctrine of the Westminster Confession, that God hath eternally, unchangeably, and unconditionally fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass, they take to be subversive of all morality and of all religion, and to make God the author of sin; God's fore-ordination being conditioned by his wisdom, as often inclusive of his fore-knowledge. They reject with horror the dogma, that any who die in infancy are subject, on the ground of Adam's first sin, "to the pains of hell for ever," as some Calvinists have taught. As regards the nature of the Atonement, they believe the Saviour's "obedience unto death" to have been strictly vicarious or substitutionary; as respects the extent of the Atonement, they hold it to have been made for all men, without distinction, exception, or respect of persons; the Double Reference Scheme they view as owing its existence to the necessities of a false or transitional theological position, and as destitute of foundation in Scripture or in reason. In rejecting the dogma of irresistible, will-suspending, and faith-necessitating grace, they do not seek to limit the Holy Spirit, or to deny the necessity of his work, in order to salvation. Faith they hold to mean simply "the belief of the truth," and the difference between common and saving faith lies not in the manner of believing, but in the saving and sanctifying virtue of the gospel truth believed. Seeing that sinners are commanded to "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ" in order to be saved, they caution sinners against praying for an irresistible influence to necessitate faith in the soul—a gift nowhere promised in the Bible, and having no existence, save in a limitarian creed. Justification by faith is recognised as an evangelical and vital doctrine; and imputation is held with equal firmness. Regeneration is not to faith, but through faith, and is not an immediate, mysterious, and miraculous renewal of the human faculties: such a belief leads the sinner to postpone the immediate duty of believing the gospel, under the fatal and delusive expectation of a so-called "day of power." On

the subject of election, their views are decidedly opposed to those of the Westminster theology. Election is a result which, it is held, it is in the power of every one to secure; unconditional reprobation is denounced to be utterly unscriptural, and the climax of blasphemy, insomuch that even most modern Calvinists disown it, though inculcated by Calvin himself. Peace with God is the immediate and invariable result of believing in Christ, which must not be confounded with "the full assurance of faith;" but this peace admits of degrees, and will partake of the vicissitudes to which faith is liable. Still, peace with God is the fruit of true faith, and is essential to sanctification. No decision is pronounced on the final perseverance of the saints, which the Methodists stoutly deny. With regard to the doctrine of eternal punishments, which some sincere Christians contend is not taught in Scripture, Mr Morison is known to hold it firmly as a Divine revelation.*

Note H, p. 50.

REV. MR GILFILLAN ON THE LIBERTY OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND CONSCIENCE.

"On Sunday evening, the Rev. Mr Gilfillan delivered the first of a series of lectures on Modern Christian Heroes, in School Wynd Chapel, Dundee, which was crowded. The lecture was an introductory one, the subject being, 'The Nature and Limitations of Liberty of Religious Thought and Conscience, in connection with the Great Aspects of the Times.' Under his first head—liberty of thought and liberty of conscience—Mr Gilfillan stated that all Protestant Christians admit that the will of God is revealed in the Scriptures, and, where accurately ascertained to exist, must be implicitly obeyed. He then proceeded—Without denying at all the inspiration of the Scriptures, it has now become quite obvious to thinking men that that inspiration varies in various portions of the Book. It is possible, however, for Christians to find an oracle in the Bible—a 'Thus saith the Lord,' which for all practical purposes, and some theoretical, is sufficient; and in this we should cordially rejoice. But although (continued Mr Gilfillan) I thus cordially admit an ultimate authority in Scripture, as properly limited and understood, yet where, I ask, is the evidence for the ultimate and oracular authority of human documents, such as Creeds and Confessions? I deny not that such documents had, and worthily, served their day. They were landmarks of progress and beacons of light in the age when they were first produced. But now they are anachronisms and ruins. They are full of crevices and crannies, through which you hear the winds whistling with a sound half-melancholy and half-scornful. Much truth they still con-

* Mr Morison is now the Rev. Dr Morison, Professor of Theology to the Evangelical Unionists, often styled "Morisonians" after him, according to a common usage. I have been somewhat minute in quoting from the Doctrinal Declaration, because it is authoritative, and because Congregationalists, in general, have no written confessions.

tain, because a great part was collected faithfully from the study of the Scriptures. But they never contained the whole truth, being only extracts from its volume—a volume that has, besides, been enlarging and widening since the progress of the human mind. All these old extracts, compared with its present size, look miserably petty and fragmentary; and they are seen now, besides, to swarm with blunders—blunders of Scriptural interpretation, blunders of natural and mental philosophy, and blunders of theological doctrine. They hold, or at least you can directly infer from them, such doctrines as eternal reprobation and the damnation of non-elect infants. They hold that the world was made in six literal days. My friend Dr Anderson, of Glasgow, went down to the Presbytery of Glasgow three years ago with a copy of the Confession of Faith marked in nine places as opposed to the Word of God and to common sense. I think ninety places, instead of nine, could have been thus objected to. The mere size of these documents is a powerful objection. The Confession of Faith is not, indeed, a very large book to read. But it is a very large book to be believed—a very large book of human composition verily to be put on a level with the Book of God. It should never be forgotten, too, that since these Standards have been written, not only have science, philosophy, and Scripture criticism been advancing at a great rate, but there has more fully developed itself in the human mind the element of individualism. Men in ancient times thought in masses, or rather followed implicitly the thinkings of other and greater men. People now are beginning more—remembering that it is as individuals they must be justified or condemned—to think on religious topics, and, indeed, on all subjects, for themselves. And that any independent thinker can in this age of restless research and all-sided inquiry consent *ex animo* to all the propositions in a thickish octavo volume, or even in the Shorter Catechism, is simply impossible. And hence many who have no sympathy with liberal views are compelled, by a felt necessity in the case, to entertain the idea of abridging these documents greatly, and reducing the immense heap of credibilia which exists at present in them to a few leading and vital principles. It is true that efforts are being made at present, with the particulars of which the newspapers have informed everybody, to make more stringent a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, and to extend the weight of that yoke to a portion of the community who have yet been comparatively free from it—I mean the laity. Hitherto it has generally been understood that the laity were exempted from the vows and obligations, at least in all their extent and number, by which the clergy are fettered. But now matters are changed, and attempts are being made to stop the utterance of individualistic thought among laymen by severe pains and penalties, including inquisitorial investigation, public citation, and probably ultimate expulsion. In the present excited, uncertain, and transitional state of thought both in England and Scotland, it were the easiest thing in the world to create a heresy-hunt, which would end in the

confusion, irritation, and perhaps disruption of any Church whatever. Suppose I know a man in my Church who believed in Millenarianism, and were I (who once held that view myself, although I now look on it as a mere crotchet and Jewish dream, remembering with shame and indignation that I had once been its public advocate) to proceed to prosecute the person, and to prove to him that it was entirely opposed to the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, not to speak of the Secession Testimony, how easy it were for that person to protest that the doctrine was held by some excellent and able ministers in the United Presbyterian Church, and then carry the case to the Synod and create quite an ecclesiastical row. What a fool I would be to start such a hunt; and what less can I call those who seek to pull up a man for denying verbal inspiration, while it is notorious that there are dozens in his Church who either deny it altogether, or hold it in twenty contradictory ways? Where would such a system end? And if private members are to be prosecuted, why not leading ministers? Why should there be different weights and different measures? But men, it is said, who propagate heresy should have no mercy. For my part, I honour the man that speaks out his thoughts whatever they be. But why, it is said again, should they not leave the Church if they differ from its doctrines? Certainly, considering the usage they have met with, and the illiberal, stupid, and detestably narrow views advocated by the ministers with whom they have come in contact, I wonder that they have not left, shaking the dust off their feet behind them. But the question arises, if they leave, why do not the whole liberal party in that Church leave too? And, query, What are the doctrines of that Church? Whether are we to gather them from the small men in the provinces, or from the large men in the capital? Whether is Dr Julius Wood or Dr Candlish in the right about the atonement? Whether are we to take the Shorter Catechism or the *North British Review* as the true exponent of Church views about the creation of the world, the antiquity of man, and other knotty questions. And whether is the divine in the north, who has become notorious, or Professor Fraser, of Edinburgh, the proper representative man in point of orthodoxy of that Church of which the one is about the obscurest and the other one of the most distinguished members—both members, mark you (the Professor, at least, was one), differing as widely in many religious views as centre from the Pole, or Saturn from the sun. I denounce, as a piece of unjust and contemptible oppression, seeking to crush private individuals for holding opinions which are known to be entertained more or less fully, and more or less openly defended, by distinguished divines and professors in the same communion. I can assure the clergy that the loss of such thoughtful and conscientious men will not be made up by the largest rabble of tame slaves and subservient noodles that can be forced into the fold by the whip of terror, the fear of popular clamour, the energy of revivalistic convulsion and clap-trap, or by any other cause whatever. If the Church cannot retain her intelligent

and influential laity, she must perish, and deserves her doom."—"Scotsman," August 3rd, 1869.

NOTE I, p. 51.

LAY PATRONAGE.

Lay patronage was condemned by the First and Second Books of Discipline: the First Book, issued in 1560, allowed the people a positive vote: the Second Book, completed in 1578, allowed them only a negative voice. Patronage continued in force down to 1649, when it was abolished by the Scottish Parliament, and the General Assembly of that year sanctioned a "Directory for Election of Ministers," investing the Session with the power of choosing, while a majority of the congregation were empowered to acquiesce or dissent from their choice. At the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, patronage was revived, and Episcopacy restored. After the Revolution of 1688, the right to elect was vested in the Session and Protestant heritors, in country parishes; and in the Magistrates and Council, in burghs; while the congregation was entitled to approve or reject. In 1711, patronage was again restored.

NOTE J, p. 52.

DR NORMAN MACLEOD AND THE ANTI-PATRONAGE QUESTION.

Dr Norman Macleod, in his interview with Mr Gladstone, on June 18th, 1869, said that the anti-patronage deputation, which he headed, proposed that appointments should be made by a committee, to be elected jointly by the heritors and the people of the parish—the heritors to elect one-third, and the parishioners two-thirds, one of them being from the elders. An elder of the Established Church has proposed the deed of constitution of Springburn Church, Glasgow, as worthy of imitation. According to this deed, three trustees act conjointly with six male seat holders, who must be in full communion, in attending to the affairs of the congregation, and who elect a pastor in case of a vacancy. Of the committee, a stated number retire at stated intervals. Other modes of election might be suggested, but the cordial concurrence of the congregation ought to be secured.

NOTE K, p. 62.

"WONDERFUL PATIENCE" SHOWN TO THE REV. MR NIXON'S SPEECH IN THE FREE CHURCH ASSEMBLY ON THE UNION QUESTION (1869).

"Mr NIXON, Montrose, then proposed the following motion, of which he had given notice: 'That the report now submitted to the General Assembly be received, and thanks recorded to the committee for their diligence and labour in connection with the matters therein embraced. That there are serious differences of opinion as to whether,

and how far, the results arrived at, in the negotiations for Union, conserve the doctrines of Scripture and of this Church, to which we have all given our adherence, with reference to the duty of nations to Christ, and to other vital matters of faith and practice. That as these divisions of opinion are such as must turn the prosecution of the Union movement, on its present footing, into a means of rending this Church, it is indispensable, to her peace and prosperity, and to the most pressing interests of that very union in truth and love which the movement was intended to advance, that no further steps be taken in the said movement until negotiations can be renewed with due regard to the Scriptural principles and the peace of this Church.' In supporting the motion, Mr Nixon maintained that it was not in the slightest degree liable to the charges that had been brought against it. So far from interfering with the liberties of the Church, or with their rights and privileges, his motion was really brought forward for the purpose of protecting these rights and privileges—(hear, hear)—and protecting that which they were appointed to promote—the truth and kingdom of Jesus Christ; and he took it upon him to show that against all comers before they ended this matter. If God spared their lives, they would prove to the satisfaction of all who were willing to lay aside all their party predilections and their cherished prejudices that they were standing upon the ground of broad Christian truth and of vital Christian love—love to Him, and love to the Church that they were connected with, and love to the other Churches of the land, and with as sincere a belief and as intelligent a hold—(hear, hear)—of the principles that were destined yet, he trusted, and ere long to bind the Presbyterian population of Scotland together in one Church as in the days of their fathers. (Applause.) It was to prevent undue pressure on the part of any set of men in the Church upon the minds and upon the course of the humblest as well as the most important office-bearers or members of it, that he had tabled the present motion—it was for the purpose of giving opportunity for the Church to ripen her mind in the right way—(laughter)—and when she arrived at that—if she could do it in six months or twelve months, so much the better—to come before that Court in the proper way, if they chose by representatives even of the elders, if they thought they were wiser than they were—(cries of "Oh, oh," and hisses)—and at any rate by the overtures of Presbyteries. (Hisses.) He knew very well that hissing proceeded from the galleries. (Cries of "No, no.") Then it was disgraceful to the members if it proceeded from them. Let them take their choice.

"Dr BEGG—Let it be clearly understood that hissing from members of the House is utterly intolerable. (Hear, hear.)

"Dr GIBSON—If members of the House contradict the statement that the hissing does not proceed from the House, then if the hissing does proceed from the House, it cannot be tolerated.

"The MODERATOR—I trust that no member of the House will repeat what has just been done."

Mr Nixon proceeded, but he had not gone far ere another display of "Wonderful patience" assailed his ears. "Mr Nixon then disclaimed being an anti-unionist, and proceeded to give a narrative of the proceedings in the Union Committee, maintaining that they justified him in entertaining the belief that the two Churches were not agreed in their interpretation of the articles of agreement. Indeed, it was admitted by the leaders of this movement that the articles were capable of two interpretations—an interpretation which could be held by the United Presbyterians, and an interpretation by Free Churchmen; and he maintained that, looking at them in the light of the former distinctive article of the United Presbyterian Church, they taught downright Voluntaryism. No doubt, by the new arrangement which had been referred to, this article did not bristle up in a distinct column. It was quietly deposited in a short paragraph in a narrative form; but it did not matter where one met a snake if he did meet it. A snake in the grass was even more dangerous than if it bristled up where there was none. (Cries of 'Oh, oh,' and 'Shame,' &c.) If that statement was considered disrespectful he would withdraw it, but he mentioned it as an illustration of what he meant."

Note L, p. 93.

Dr Robert Buchanan's interview with Lord Melbourne, the Premier, on spiritual independence (1840).

During Lord Melbourne's tenure of office, from 1835 to 1841, he was much harassed by deputations of Scottish ministers touching ecclesiastical affairs. No sooner had he escaped from the petitions of the Church Extensionists and the Voluntaries, than he was importuned by the Non-Intrusionists. While he was wont to affect ignorance of the questions submitted to him, and indifference to the interests at stake, he was really a watchful listener and a wary respondent. The following is Dr Robert Buchanan's own version of the conversation:—"It would really appear," he said, laughing, "as if all religious bodies now-a-days were determined to be above the law. Why, there is Dr M'Hale in Ireland? We made a law, saying, 'You shan't call yourself Archbishop of Tuam.' 'But I shall, though,' he replies; 'you had no right to make such a law. You didn't give me my ecclesiastical title, and you can't take it from me. I hold it from another, and a higher source.' And, again, there is the Bishop of Exeter. We brought in a Church Discipline Bill into the House of Lords, and immediately the Bishop starts up and tells us, 'You are interfering with the divine rights of the Episcopal office. You are presuming to legislate on matters above the reach of Parliament; and, if you do, I won't obey the law.' And, now, here comes your Church of Scotland. You stand upon your spiritual jurisdiction, and won't allow the civil authority to touch it. Eh! Is that it, eh?"

NOTE M, p. 93.

CO-ORDINATE JURISDICTION.

From "Blackwood's Magazine," Vol. xlvi. (1839), by Mr Inglis, Advocate, now Lord President of the Court of Session.

"But both Courts must be armed with equal powers, or powers the *same in kind*, if not equal in extent. . . . The constitution has conferred on the Judge *the power of execution*, or, in other words, has permitted to him the use of *physical force*. . . . It is obviously a libel on the Gospel to say that Jesus Christ founded a Church which could not exist in union with the freest and most perfect civil government that the world ever saw. It is irrelevant, if not blasphemous, to maintain or believe that the Gospel dispensation, the Gospel of Peace, imposes duties inconsistent with civil obedience. . . . It is the duty of the Church to maintain the privilege and independence conferred on her by law—according to law—by all lawful means. Every lawyer knows, and all men may be made to understand, that the Supreme Civil Court is the only proper tribunal for disposing of questions of jurisdiction, and that all matter of jurisdiction is matter proper for the decision of that court. Were it otherwise, no such case could ever be extricated. The Supreme Civil Court is entitled to take cognisance of all complaints, except where it can be shown that its jurisdiction is excluded. The party who pleads the exclusion of the court's jurisdiction, of course submits that question to the decision of the court. He does not stand aloof and refuse to plead at all, because he knows that, if he became obstinate, or so ill-advised, judgment must go against him by default, and the strong arm of the law would compel him to give obedience to that judgment."

NOTE M (*a*), p. 112.

THE WELSH CHURCH.

According to Conybeare, poor benefices are as great a temptation to the peasant as rich bishoprics to the peer, and the Welsh Bishops, half-a-century ago, were without a conscience in the disposal of their preferment. The average income of the clergy was lately under £100 a-year. Many of them were sons of drunken farmers, and attended fairs, where they shared in the prevailing inebriety. When two Welsh curates met, after both had been applicants for a benefice, the vanquished would assail the victor with the most scurrilous vituperation. The churches were dirty, and out of repair. The great majority of the population are Calvinistic Methodists; the great mass of their preachers are utterly illiterate, and the most popular of their number encourage the practice of "jumping" in worship, when a whole congregation may be seen drunk with excitement, leaping, and shouting in concert, and profaning the most sacred names by frantic invocations. *Tan uffern* (hell fire), is the expression which

* "Ten Years' Conflict," vol. ii., p. 63.

falls oftenest on the ear. The people are largely instructed in controversial theology; the children learn by rote the *Pwnc* (plural *Pyncian*), a scheme of doctrine printed in question and answer, with Scripture proofs. Impurity is not considered as a vice, scarcely as a frailty by the common people in Wales, if we are to believe Mr Lingen, now Secretary to the Privy Council Committee of Education,* who was once a Government Commissioner of Education in the Prncipality. But Scotsmen have learned, from experience, to receive Mr Lingen's evidence with extreme caution. Conybeare attributes the fanaticism of Wales to the shameful negligence of the Welsh Bishops during the eighteenth century. Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, the celebrated defender of Christianity, held his see for thirty-four years. During all that time he never resided in his diocese, and seldom came near it. During the last twenty years he is said never to have visited it. Including his bishopric, he held nine charges, and actually contrived to reside in none of them. He compelled the starving curates of his diocese to travel from South Wales to Westmoreland for ordination; a journey which, in those days, must have cost them a year's salary. In Westmoreland, he employed himself, as he tells us, "principally in building farm-houses, blasting rocks, enclosing wastes, and planting larches." Though his "Apology for the Bible" is a judicious refutation of the scurrilous incendiary, Thomas Paine, his neglect of his sacred duties was most discreditable to himself and to the Church of England. Recently, however, both Churchmen and Dissenters have been making rapid strides in the improvement of their morals and education. "J. A.," the writer of a carefully-written article on the Established Church in Wales, which appeared in the "United Presbyterian Magazine" for November, 1869, takes a higher estimate of the morality of the Welsh than Mr Lingen. It is asserted by the writer that the Dissenters form 87 per cent. of the whole population. In 1851 the population was 1,118,914, and the total number of places of worship was 4000, of which the Established Church furnished only 1180, while the Nonconformists furnished 2826. Does not this form a needless superfluity of chapels, providing one for every 396 persons? The revenues of the Established Church in Wales are about £300,000 annually.

Note N, p. 112.

THE ERSKINES.

During the long period of three centuries the Erskines have been prominent in the legal ecclesiastical annals of Scotland. In the sixteenth century, John Erskine, Baron of Dun, a connexion of the Earls of Mar, became a leader of the Reformation, and introduced the teaching of Greek in Scotland by settling a French teacher of that

* The Newspapers of December 14, 1869, announce Mr Lingen's appointment as Permanent Under-Secretary of the Treasury.

language in Montrose Academy. In that school George Wishart was a pupil and a teacher. David Erskine, Lord Dun, was a Lord of Session from 1711 to 1750. Henry Erskine, a Presbyterian minister of the Established Church in Durham, was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. After taking refuge in Holland, he was imprisoned in the Bass Rock Fort for three years, but liberated through the influence of his kinsman, the Earl of Mar. On the re-establishment of the Presbyterian Church in 1690, he became minister of Chirnside, Berwickshire, and died in 1696. His sons, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, founded the Secession Church. John Erskine, grandson of Lord Cardross, was born in 1695, and died at his own estate of Cardross in 1765. He was an eminent Professor of Law in the University of Edinburgh, and author of the "Institutes of the Law of Scotland." John Erskine, his son, was the devout and venerated minister of Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, and colleague of Principal Robertson: he was born in 1721, and died in 1803. Thomas Erskine, third son of the tenth Earl of Buchan, and born in 1748, after serving in the army and navy, studied for the English bar, where, by his dauntless courage and matchless skill, he achieved a brilliant reputation never equalled, was created Lord Chancellor, and died in 1823. His elder brother, Henry Erskine, obtained equal distinction as a Scottish advocate in the Court of Session and in the General Assembly. On the formation of Lord Rockingham's Government, he became Lord Advocate and a member of Parliament. On Mr Pitt's accession to office, he was chosen Dean of Faculty; and after serving as Lord Advocate under Lord Grenville, he retired from the bar in 1812, and died in 1817. After his defence of Baillie in the Greenwich Hospital case, Thomas Erskine obtained thirty retainers before he left the Court. "At the famous State Trials of 1794," says Lord Brougham, "he lost his voice on the evening before he was to address the jury. It returned to him just in time; and this, like other felicities in his career, he always ascribed to a special providence, with the habitually religious disposition which was hereditary in the godly families that he sprung from." The Lord Chancellor and the Lord Advocate were cousins-german of Professor Erskine, whose grandson, Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, author of the "Gospel Freeness," and other popular theological works, died March 20th, 1870, in his eighty-second year.

NOTE O, p. 119.

THE CULDEES OF IONA.

Columba, the Apostle of the Culdees, was born in Donegal in 518. His original name was Crinthain, as some say, and he was called Colum, from "Columba," the Latin for dove. In 563, accompanied by twelve disciples, he left Scotia, that is, Ireland, for Britain. Having sailed from Derry in a "currach," or wherry boat of wicker-work, covered with hide, they are reported to have landed at Colonsay,

whence they put to sea, and steered for Iona, styled I on Hy in the Gaelic language, and signifying, not Island, as is commonly supposed, but "I see it." According to Bede, the island of I was bestowed on Columba by Brude Mac Meilochan, a powerful Pictish chief. Having fixed his abode in Iona, Columba, accompanied, probably, by some companions, set out for Inverness, 150 miles' distance, to visit the Pictish king; but on reaching the residence of Brude, he was opposed by the Magi, or Druids, when he began to sing the 46th Psalm. His voice acquired supernatural power, and struck all his foes with awe. Still Brude refused to open his gates, till the saint made the sign of the cross upon them. The prince then treated him with honour. After a short stay, Columba sailed in a frail skiff for Iona. Adomnan agrees with Bede in the belief that the Scots did not understand the Pictish tongue. Columba founded in Iona a monastery, but the inmates took no vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience, the monks having retired hither for study and devotion. Columba, the first Abbot, was allowed to nominate his successor, but subsequently the brethren of the monastery elected their abbot, who was uniformly styled presbyter—the distinction between Bishop and presbyter having sprung up in the time of Bede in England, and diocesan episcopacy being unknown in Scotland before the 12th century. The Abbots were not diocesan Bishops, did not exercise episcopal jurisdiction over their parochia, and did not possess orders such as Episcopalians acknowledge. The whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in the presbyters and their presbyter-abbot; and all the inmates were ecclesiastics. But their constitution bore little resemblance to that of Church Sessions, Presbyteries, and General Assemblies of modern times. The monks of Iona were Christian missionaries, preaching the gospel and planting churches among the Pagan Picts. They held the Scriptures to be the one standard of truth, and Bede informs us that they received those things only which are contained in the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles.

Much difference of opinion prevails on the etymology of the word Culdee. By some it is traced to Gille Dé, the Gaelic words for "servant of God;" by others, to "Cultores Dei," the Latin for "worshippers of God;" while another class derives it from "Culdee," the Irish for "cowl;" whence "Culdee," the "black monk," the cowl being usually black. Goodall holds it to be derived from the Greek κελλεωται, "men of the cells." Toland refers it to "Ceile Dé," "the spouse of God." The word, in its oldest Latin form, is Kaledei, and the native Celts term it Cuildich. In Iona there is still a hollow styled "Cobhanhan Cuildeach," "the Culdees' Chest," Cuildeach is derived from Cuil, a "recess," or retired corner, and indicates the habits of those who frequented it, so that Culdee signifies "Men of the recess." The Culdees were partial to islands, where they enjoyed security and seclusion; and they therefore resorted to Tyree, Mull, Colonsay, St Kilda, Rona, the Flannen Islands, and the Orkneys. In several of these their oratories are still preserved.

When Aidan was sent to preach the gospel to the Northern Saxons, he took up his abode in Lindisfarnes, the "Holy Isle," which became to England what Iona was to Scotland. On the other hand, Augustine, the Romish monk, settled in Canterbury, one of the richest counties in England even in Julius Cæsar's time; and Paulinus settled in York, the Eboracum of the Romans, in which the Emperor Severus died, and which was the capital of the North of England. From what can be gathered from early ecclesiastical authors, the Culdees devoted themselves to the preaching of the gospel of salvation. They rejected the worship of the Virgin and saints. They did not believe in Purgatory; but the tonsure was in use, and they seem to have held the doctrine of transubstantiation. It has not been proved that celibacy was practised; and in the Scottish Catholic Church, which claimed Iona as its source, the clergy married till a comparatively late era. Like the Presbyterians and Episcopalians of a more recent period, they disputed keenly on some minor questions. One of these was the orthodox time for observing Easter, a question which still provokes fierce dissensions between the Greek and Latin Christians in Jerusalem, when the Mussulmans are compelled to interfere. The sign of the cross was used by the Culdees, and the principle of clanship was largely adopted. Among their monasteries were those of St Andrews, Dunblane, Scone, Brechin, Monymusk, Merelach, Birney (Moray), Rosemarkie, Dornoch, Iona, and Dunkeld. Among their tribes or earldoms were those of Fife, Strathearn, Mortlach, Gowrie, Angus, Mearns (formerly part of Angus), Mar, Buchan, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Garmoran, Atholl, and Argyll (part of Atholl). Columba died in 597, leaving several Latin compositions, such as the hymn beginning "Noli, pater, indulgere." Among the native Gaels he is still known as Columeille, meaning Colum of the Cell or Church. Columba's name is traceable to fifty-three places in Scotland. After his death his successors gradually declined from his doctrines and example. The Culdees were exposed to numerous fierce assaults from the Norsemen, their monastery was sacked, and they were expelled in the tenth century. During the time of Queen Margaret, it is believed that the successors of the Abbots became the representatives of the lay founders, and that the monasteries became family heritages, the possession and patronage being vested in the great family of the district. (For a learned and interesting account of the Culdees and their successors, I strongly advise the reader to consult the "Early Scottish Church from the First to the Twelfth Century," by the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan, of the Free Gaelic Church, Edinburgh, who is a Celtic scholar of acknowledged authority. Much collateral information will be found in Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," Jamieson's "Culdees of Iona," Grub's "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," Hetherington's "History of the Church of Scotland," Robertson's "Scotland under the Early Kings," Innes' "Scotland in the Middle Ages," Todd's "Life of St Patrick," Reeve's "Life of Columba," Skene's papers in the "Transactions of the Antiquarian Society,"

"Transactions of the Iona Club," "Characteristics of Early Church Architecture in Scotland," and the article "Culdees" in the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," by Mr Robert Carruthers. Samuel Johnson, who visited Iona in 1773, describes it as "once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion.")

Note P, p. 154.

THE LATE DR DICK ON THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

In the memoir, at page xiv., the author thus writes:—"In particular, he (Dr Dick) condemned that undue reverence for them (confessions, creeds), which almost invariably prevents them from being revised after they are adopted. He held that they should be subjected to frequent revision, and that the contrary practice of the Churches was disgraceful to us as Protestants and daily students of the Scriptures."

At page 314, vol. iv., Dr Dick says:—"It is evident, however, that if the assent of private members is to be required to them, they ought to be very short and simple; and some modern creeds, however excellent, are too copious, and involve too many intricate points to be fit for this purpose."

Again, at page 400–401, vol. iv., speaking of the Church's power to enact creeds, he says:—"There has been much misapprehension upon this subject, which has been too much encouraged by the vague, injudicious language of public teachers of religion; and the Standards of a Church have been regarded as sacred things, which it would be profaneness to touch. So far as these sentiments prevail among Protestants, they adopt one of the most absurd and dangerous errors of Popery," &c.

Note Q, p. 177.

THE REV. DR MACFARLANE OF LONDON, AND THE REV. DR M'KERROW OF MANCHESTER, ON THE DRAWBACKS TO PRESBYTERIANISM IN ENGLAND.

"Dr Macfarlane of Clapham said that in London the Scotch population were surrounded with temptation. It was extremely difficult to refrain from going to Westminster Abbey or St Paul's Cathedral. When in England, they were bound as wise men to consider the national tastes of the people, and if they wanted to make way they must not run counter to those tastes, more especially if they did not oppose the principles of their religion. There was a very great taste in England in the direction of good music. He thought they had failed greatly in their duty as a Church both in Scotland and England in respect of the ordinance of praise. If it were true that there is in the Church of England too much praying and too little preaching, perhaps it was true that in the Presbyterian Church there was too much preaching

and too little praying; at all events too little of devotional exercises. Unless something be done in his own church in London to improve the ordinance of praise, they would suffer for it. He had already suffered for it—most respectable families had left his church already. They went at the beginning, attracted solely by the pulpit, but were repelled by the desk. It was very serious; he felt it painfully. They must do everything they could to add to the solemnity of their simple ritual. He did not go in for any ritualism in the bad sense of the word. But if the ritualists went too far, they themselves did not come up to the standard which the worship of God demanded. They ought not only to preach well, but to pray and sing well; they ought to take care that God got the best of all they had. He believed that, if he had the help of good music in his church, he should not have to waste half the energy and half the talent which he was compelled to bring up in order to keep his congregation together. He had succeeded till now, but had found it hard work, and simply for the reason he had named. Dr M'Kerrow, Manchester, could not contribute anything to what had been said by Dr Macfarlane. He had been forty-two years in England, and he felt that they must accommodate themselves to the innocent tastes and feelings of the people, and not refer everything to the other side of the Tweed. They could only exercise more influence by laying aside these old prejudices, which had militated against the extension of the Presbyterian system. When Scotchmen rose in the social scale they were often led to English places of worship, more especially the Episcopalian; and he did not see how they could prevent this. Let them have a change, innocent, and not contrary to the Scriptures, in order to please the young Scotch people, who left them because they found something better to their taste in other congregations; and he believed that many of their English congregations would leave them unless they gave them that liberty which, he was sorry to say, many still opposed. Dr Cairns, Berwick, entirely agreed with Dr M'Kerrow and Dr Macfarlane. They must do what they could to preach the Gospel to the English people; but they had not done their best to secure their hold of the Scotch."—("Glasgow Herald," October 13, 1829.)

Note R, p. 198.

Scene in the Commission of the Free Church Assembly, Nov. 17th, 1869.

"Sir Henry Moncreiff went on to vindicate the conduct of the committee in submitting this report, maintaining that they were justified in giving to the Church the result of their experience in the matter. He denied that any member of the committee had been influenced in what he had said or done upon this subject by the Union question, and said that any one who said or insinuated such a thing, insinuated what was false and calumnious.

Mr Kidston—I repeat it.

Mr FERGUSON—Who brought this question before the Union Committee?

Dr GIBSON—False is not a word to be used in this House.

Sir HENRY MONCREIFF—I will prove that the reference to the Union question originated on the other side.

Mr KIDSTON—And I am prepared to prove the contrary.

Dr BUCHANAN—Is it consistent with order that a person in possession of the floor should be interrupted by half-a-dozen people at once?

Mr KIDSTON—Because he is indulging in mere assertions.

Dr GIBSON—Is it consistent with the proprieties of this House that statements made here should be characterised as false?

Sir H. MONCREIFF—I did not refer to Dr Gibson in the least.

Dr GIBSON—Did you refer to me at all?

Sir H. MONCREIFF—If Dr Gibson objects to the word false, although I did not intend to impute anything invidious to him, and although I believe in Parliamentary language it is now allowed to use the word false if not in an offensive sense, I would say that it is utterly unfounded on fact.

Dr GIBSON—Any one who applies the word false in reference to a statement I made, I am entitled to say that that is false.

Sir H. MONCREIFF—The question is, whether the statement is founded on fact; and I say it is a calumnious statement, because there is no foundation for it.

Mr KIDSTON—There is foundation for it.

Sir H. MONCREIFF—I say it is a calumnious statement.

After some further altercation,

Sir HENRY MONCREIFF said that before he was called upon to prove the negative of the statement, the positive should have been proved; but he held that the question was first raised by Mr Kidston at last meeting of Commission. After the assertions then made with regard to the United Presbyterians, it was only to be expected that they should give explanations in the Union Committee, and these explanations he held to be perfectly satisfactory. Mr Kidston must have misunderstood what the Duke of Argyll said, because no such statement was made as that the Government could not put in the clause because of the opposition of the United Presbytery. He (Sir Henry) believed it was omitted because of the opposition of certain leading statesmen.

Mr KIDSTON was prepared to make affidavit that the statement was made."

NOTE S, p. 215.

SIR JAMES STEPHEN ON THE SCANDALS OF THE PAPACY.

"Except in the annals of Eastern despotisms, no parallel can be found for the disasters of the Papacy during the century and a half which followed the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty. Of the

twenty-four popes who, during that period, ascended the apostolic throne, two were murdered, five were driven into exile, four were deposed, and three resigned their hazardous dignity. Some of these Vicars of Christ were raised to that awful pre-eminence by arms, and some by money. Two received it from the hands of princely courtesans. One was self-appointed. A well-filled purse purchased one Papal abdication; the promise of a fair bride another. One of those holy fathers pillaged the treasury, fled with the spoil, returned to Rome, ejected his substitute, and mutilated him in a manner too revolting for description. In one page of this dismal history, we read of the disinterred corpse of a former Pope brought before his successor to receive a retrospective sentence of deposition; and in the next we find the judge himself undergoing the same posthumous condemnation, though without the same filthy ceremonial. Of these heirs of St Peter, one entered on his infallibility in his eighteenth year, and one before he had seen his twelfth summer. One, again, took to himself a coadjutor, that he might command in person such legions as Rome then sent into the field. Another, Judas-like, agreed for certain pieces of silver to recognise the Patriarch of Constantinople as universal bishop. All sacred things had become venal. Crime and debauchery held revel in the Vatican; while the afflicted Church, wedded at once to three husbands (such was the language of the times), witnessed the celebration of as many rival masses in the metropolis of Christendom. It would be heretical to say that the gates of hell had prevailed against the seat and centre of Catholicism; but Baronius himself might be cited to prove that they had rolled back on their infernal hinges, to send forth malignant spirits commissioned to empty on her devoted head the vials of bitterness and wrath."

NOTE T, p. 230.

CONYBEARE'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE 18,000 CLERGYMEN IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (1845).

LOW CHURCH.....	Normal type ("Evangelical")	3300
	Exaggerated type ("Recondite").....	2500
	Stagnant type ("Low and Slow").....	700
HIGH CHURCH.....	Normal type ("Anglican").....	3500
	Exaggerated type ("Tractarian").....	1000
	Stagnant type ("High and Dry").....	2500
BROAD CHURCH.....	Normal type (subdivided into "Theoretical," and "Anti-Theoretical").....	2800
	Exaggerated type (concealed Infidels)....	20
	Stagnant type.....	700

Note U, p. 231.

STATISTICS OF CONGREGATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN SCOTLAND.

(From Wilson's "Clerical Almanack.")

PRESBYTERIAN.

Church of Scotland,	1254
Free Church,	904
United Presbyterian,	493
United Original Secession,	27
Reformed Presbyterian (Old School),	11
Reformed Presbyterian (New School),	41
	2730

NON-PRESBYTERIAN.

Congregationalists,	95
Evangelical Union,	75
Baptists,	90
Scottish Episcopalian,	169
English Episcopalian,	9
Roman Catholics,	130
Wesleyan Methodists,	33
Unitarians,	5
	606

Note V, p. 303.

THE REV. DAVID PIRRET, UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER, GLASGOW, ON THE CHURCH AND THE MASSES (1870).

"For example, take the Glasgow City Mission, which employs about fifty agents, who devote four hours each day to the visitation of the careless classes, and hold two meetings each week, besides having Bible classes and Sabbath schools, and other appliances for interesting and improving all who choose to avail themselves of them. And how many do these fifty agents succeed in drafting into the fellowship of the Church during a year? About *fifty* represents the general average. Now, suppose we grant that the other evangelistic efforts made in our city are greatly more successful, and that *ten times* fifty members are added by them to the Christian Church, is not this a miserably small number in a city that contains half-a-million of souls, and whose population is increasing at an enormous rate? And we believe the gains of the Church from the world are not proportionately greater in other towns, and throughout our country districts. If, then, we sum up all these gains, and estimate them at the highest credible number, all will acknowledge they are small. 'What are they among so many?' . . . . .

Now put these two things together: (1), The losses of members

who go over from the Church to the world are more numerous than the gains from the world; and (2), large numbers of children, born within the pale of the Church, eventually go over to the world: and it must be plain to any reflecting mind that the Church is in a very unsatisfactory position in relation to the world. If the visible Church be increasing at all, it is evident the open and declared enemies of the Church and her Head are increasing much more rapidly. In itself this is a very dreadful fact, and in its relation to the future it is most portentous. . . . . .

1. The careless and irreligious population of our country is increasing with fearful rapidity. The natural increase is swelled by numerous desertions from the Church, both of the old and young.

2. Crime is attaining in our country the coherence and the power of a great organisation. Evidently this is felt by our statesmen, who are at their wits' end how to deal with and diminish it. They seem to be afraid that, unless something effectual can be done now, the criminal classes will become wholly unmanageable.

3. The professors of religion are not multiplying in anything like the ratio of the careless and the criminal classes; and we cannot be certain that any increase of profession is accompanied with a corresponding increase of vital godliness, seeing that in our day there exist so many worldly reasons for making a profession of religion.

4. The influence of the Church on the world in the way of reforming and regenerating the country is scarcely perceptible; while the evangelisation of the masses is becoming a greater and more difficult problem every day. . . . . .

Some will be ready to remind us of the great and blessed results in our land of the Free Church disruption, and of other revivals of religion. Most gladly and gratefully do we admit the mighty influence exerted on the Church by these great movements. But if, with such an exceptional and extraordinary experience, the position of the Church is such as it is, it seems very plain that the *ordinary* rate of progress cannot be satisfactory. And this is the point we have been attempting to prove; and in proving it, to show the urgent necessity of securing, without delay, something higher and better as the normal and ordinary condition of the Church."

NOTE W, p. 307.

DR. HORATIUS BONAR ON THE UNION QUESTION.

"Overtures have been tabled in Presbyteries which will kindle a new conflagration, wider and fiercer than before. The signal-gun has been fired, and the Presbyteries of our Church are summoned, not to prayer but to battle—sad ending to a year of prayer. The next three months will be months of strife—our weapons turned, not against the common enemy, but against one another; the world scoffing at our strife, and many a Christian man and woman bowed down, in bitterness of spirit, at the humbling spectacle. If I could discover any clear way of leaving the Free Church I would quit it at once; for I see nothing before

me but hostilities, parties, and party movements—mutual suspicions, wounding speeches, broken friendships, hindered work, the bond of peace broken, and the Holy Spirit grieved away. The Union scenes which have occurred in Presbyteries are unspeakably painful. They will now be intensified and embittered. Of such scenes in kirk-sessions the Glasgow Presbytery can speak; and the same scenes, or worse, will be witnessed in each of the sessions of our Church, and in each of the congregations. The divisions and heart-burnings about to be created by this new movement must utterly break up our Church. A house divided against itself cannot stand. Our rowers are bringing us into deeper water than ever. The prospect before us now is collision, contention, and final separation. One thing is certain, that we of the minority cannot go back. Be the consequences what they may, we mean to face them."—(March 3rd, 1870.)

NOTE X, p. 308.

SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF THE DUNDEE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERY, ON THE CONDUCT OF THE EDINBURGH PRESBYTERY IN THE CASE OF THE REV. GEORGE GILFILLAN.—(February, 1870.)

"The Rev. Mr Muir, of Newtyle, Presbytery Clerk, had felt that for many years past the Presbytery of Dundee, and especially a prominent member in it, had been under a watchful, secret espionage. A band of select friends in Edinburgh had been hovering over them, ready, like birds of prey, to dart down and seize them should any erratic movement take place, or any appearance of remissness of duty. Mr Gilfillan had provoked these select friends by his utterances—utterances against the union of the negotiating Presbyterian Churches—utterances on the Sabbath question, and on a vast number of literary topics. The select friends met, conversed over matters, shook their heads, and parted, saying, We cannot yet gag him, but the time will come when we will dart on him. With reference to the dogma of the creation of the world in six days, Professor Harper, Dr Johnston, and Dr Thomson were not at one among themselves. Professor Harper declared that if they meddled with the words in the Confession they meddled with the words of the Fourth Commandment. Dr Johnston said that millions of millions of ages had passed in the growth of our globe; then Dr Thomson brought a charge against the Westminster divines, that they seemed to confound the creative act with the subsequent formative process and periods. What was the difference between the utterance of Dr Thomson and Mr Gilfillan on the answer to the question, 'What is the work of creation?' Dr Thomson said it failed to give the teaching of God's Word. Dr Thomson spoke offensively against the honesty of Mr Gilfillan, because he had subscribed the Confession and spoke very strongly against its teaching. Where was the Doctor's honesty? He had subscribed the Confession, and spoke very plainly and irreverently against it. Having noticed the cry for revision of the standards, and warned the Edinburgh divines to beware of interfering with a system of divinity so admirably

arranged, so philosophically and logically compacted, lest the whole fabric toppled to the ground, Mr Muir proceeded to answer the question why the Dundee Presbytery did not take up Mr Gilfillan. It was not because they did not read the prints of the day. He would make a confession. It was fear—not fear of Mr Gilfillan—for every one of them loved him for his kindness and warmth of heart, and for his obliging disposition. They were proud of his literary attainments, his great gifts, his great genius. Many would rail against him, and at the same time take advantage of his fine imaginative writings—would seek to crush him, and at the same time steal his finest figures and fancies. But they did fear to enter on his case, though they were convinced that the dogmas mentioned by him were in the subordinate Standards, and that his language against them was by far too reckless and unguarded. They did fear to enter on his case, lest, as Mr Whitefield, of Dunbar, said, they would make a mess of it. But what had the Edinburgh doctors done? They had taken anything and everything like a case from the Presbytery—had stolen their 'brief'—had removed the ground from under their feet—had, in fact, talked it away to their own hurt—had prejudged the case. And what was their wise decision? 'We announce that Mr Gilfillan does not understand the dogmas he specifies—in fact, they are not in the Confession; he misunderstands its teaching.' He (Mr Muir) did not believe this. He held that the Edinburgh Presbytery had moved far away from the Standards themselves—that they had, in fact, assoilzied Mr Gilfillan. He wished to say a single word, in concluding, about the voting of the motion in the Edinburgh Presbytery. Professor Harper, the oracle, offered a last advice to his accomplice, Dr Johnston—'Withdraw your motion for that of Dr Ogilvie.' This was dexterous, was leaped at; the game was now played, and these crafty old divines shuffled off the stage, and his old, kind, true, sterling-principled brother was made the victim, filled the gap, and Dr Ogilvie carried his motion against that of the Rev. Andrew Morton, A.M. He said, thanks to Dr Duncan Ogilvie for his deliverance.

The Rev. Mr Connel, Lochee, strongly animadverted upon the conduct of the Edinburgh Presbytery in interfering with the case, and deprecated the continuance of the discussion, as it was likely to be productive of evil rather than good. Further, he was not sure that they had any right to bring a charge against Mr Gilfillan. Was no latitude to be allowed to those who signed the Standards of the church?—were they to be compelled to pin their faith to every phrase, to every word, that were in these documents? He thought the Presbytery of Edinburgh would have been much more prudent if they had come forward with a deliverance as to what latitude was to be allowed in the interpretation of the Standards, or if they had overtured the Synod to give an authoritative declaration on the point.

The Rev. Mr Gilfillan said, It may be, and has frequently been, said—First, Why have you singled out only three objectionable points in the Confession of Faith? are there no more to which you object? To this question I am not very careful to answer. I have distinctly

said in my former statement that I believe in the great leading truths in the Confession; and it follows, therefore, that—first, even though I had any more objections than those I have specified, they must be of a minor kind; and, secondly, it is very likely they are already included in those lists—longer or shorter—of errata in the formularies which have come from the hands, as I have already shown, of some of my superiors and seniors in the church. I can assure the Presbytery that, had I any deep quarrel with the Standards of our body—did I doubt, for instance, the Divinity of Christ—I should not remain a day in the Communion of the United Presbyterian Church, or in the society of the Dundee Presbytery. But why, it has been often asked—why have you not proposed an overture to the Synod to get these errors rectified, and that revision you talk of begun? I have various answers to this question. First, I am not a man for making or supporting overtures. That is not my forte. I leave that to such thoroughly practical men as my friend Mr Muir. Secondly, I might answer the question by asking another—Why did Dr Peddie not go on with his overture? He is a much older man than I am. He enjoys, what I am sorry to say I scarcely seem to do, the confidence of the Supreme Court of the Church, and years ago signified publicly his dissatisfaction so far with the Confession, and his intention to introduce an overture. Why did he not do it? Thirdly, I did not think that, even had I been desirous of overturing the Church, there was up to this time much chance of the overture succeeding. Had it gone up to the Synod, some would have said, like Dr Bruce, 'It is too soon;' others would have added, 'It will disturb the Union negotiations;' and a third party might have even said, like Dr Thomson, 'Mr Gilfillan is here standing alone—it is a crotchet he has got; and are we to aid him in running his crotchet, like a harpoon, into the entrails of our old and venerable Confession?' Therefore I contented myself with delivering my own conscience by repeated personal protests—too strong and sweeping, no doubt; but strength is inherent in my language, and I often, like many others, am led unconsciously to exaggerate the object I wish to gain, hoping that in this way I might do some little thing to educate the public mind on the subject—a task in which, I think, I have had of late material aid from my friends in the Edinburgh Presbytery. I felt, let me say, too, that there were two courses open to me. I might have brought forward an overture, or I might have acted as I have done. Had I brought forward an overture, it might have been rejected. My language in the Presbytery, however, would have become public, and might have given offence in the one case as well as in the other; and so I preferred addressing the public at once. I may have been wrong in this, but I submit that that is very much a matter of opinion; and, if wrong, I regret it. I have now said all that I think was necessary for apology, for explanation, or for defence; and I cast myself with entire confidence on my brethren of the Dundee Presbytery."

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